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AN ANALYSIS OF UPWARD MOBILITY IN LOW-INCOME FAMILIES--A COMPARISON OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE AMONG AMERICAN NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN POOR.

BY- SAFA, HELEN ICKEN
SYRACUSE UNIV., N.Y., YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER
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A STUDY WAS CONDUCTED TO ANALYZE THE SOCIAL ISOLATION AND UPWARD MOBILITY OF FAMILIES LIVING IN A SHANTY TOWN AND A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IN PUERTO RICO, AND OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN A GHETTO IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK. DATA WERE COLLECTED BY MEANS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVERS AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULES. IT WAS FOUND THAT THE POOR DO NOT LIVE IN A SUBCULTURE DEFINED BY A PARTICULAR VALUE SYSTEM, BUT RATHER THAT THEY DO NOT ENTER THE LARGER DOMINANT SOCIETY BECAUSE THEY LACK OPPORTUNITIES AND BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE A SUPPORTIVE NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENT. IN PUERTO RICAN SOCIETY UPWARD MOBILITY IS NOT IMPEDED BY RACIAL BARRIERS, AS IT IS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THE LOW-INCOME PUERTO RICAN CAN MORE RAPIDLY ACHIEVE A HIGHER STATUS. IN THE UNITED STATES RACIAL EXCLUSION HAS DISORGANIZED THE NEGRO HOME AND COMMUNITY AND HAS CAUSED IDENTITY PROBLEMS FOR THE NEGRO, WHOSE HOSTILITY IS OFTEN TURNED INTO ACTS OF DESTRUCTION AGAINST THE COMMUNITY ITSELF. IN CONTRAST WITH THE PUERTO RICAN HOUSING PROJECT COMMUNITY AND THE NEGRO GHETTO, IN THE PUERTO RICAN SHANTY TOWN COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY AND PRIDE ARE FOSTERED BY THE EXISTENCE OF A LOCAL LEADERSHIP, AND THE MALE PLAYS A DISTINCT ROLE IN THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY. THE HOUSING PROJECT AND THE GHETTO COMMUNITIES DEPEND ON OUTSIDE AGENCIES TO MAINTAIN SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD. TO PROMOTE ASSIMILATION, POLICY MAKERS SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR IN LOCAL AFFAIRS. TABLES ARE INCLUDED. (LB)

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An Analysis of Upward Mobility in Low Income Families

Helen Icken Safa

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Youth Development Center

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AN ANALYSIS OF UPWARD MOBILITY IN LOW-INCOME FAMILIES: A Comparison of Family and Community Life Among American Negro and Puerto Rican Poor

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Helen Icken Safa
Senior Research Associate
Youth Development Center
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Elizabeth Lowe and her family, lived in two public housing projects for over two years and suffered many of the privations to which low-income life is subject. Her excellent rapport with the people was a great asset in collecting the data presented here. Two graduate students, Carlos Chardon and Donna Shalala, assisted me in the analysis of this data and in the preparation of the final report. Both of them worked above and beyond the call of duty and it is to be hoped that they will continue their dedication to the field of social research.

While the principal findings of this research represent my own interpretation and theoretical orientation, the data on the Negro ghetto is immeasurably strengthened by the survey analysis conducted by my two senior colleagues on the study, Louis Kriesberg and Seymour Bellin. They made their data available to me and gave freely of their time and efforts to assist me in any way possible.

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I have purposely waited till last to express my gratitude to the Puerto Rican and Negro families whose hopes and problems are presented here. No research would have been possible without their full cooperation. I only hope that the results of this research may aid them and thus in a small way repay them for the kindness and generosity shown me.

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Chapter I

THE CLOSED WORLD OF THE URBAN POOR

The Research Problem

It is difficult for the outsider to comprehend the isolation to which the poor are subject in modern, urban society. We are accustomed to thinking in terms of a remote peasant village or an isolated primitive tribe. But the poor live in the midst of the modern metropolis, often within a few blocks of the central business district and major government offices. Here the distance is not physical but social. Though surrounded on all sides by people of other walks of life, the urban poor live in a closed world confined to persons of their own class level.

The isolation of the urban poor is a phenomenon peculiar to the modern metropolis. True, the poor have always shared a distinctive way of life different from other class groups in the society, in terms of residence, occupation, speech and dress patterns, and other behavior characteristics. But the peasant in a Yucatecan village or the laborer in a rural town or factory city still came to know people from other class levels on a personal basis, as employers, public officials, or even kin. The huge sprawl and density of the modern metropolis has broken down the face-to-face relationships which crossed class lines. The modern metropolis, according to Arensberg, is a "huge mosaic of massed segregations of age, class, and ethnic group." (Arensberg 1965: 115). It has forced the poor to live in ghettos shut off from all but secondary relationships with the outside world.

This report will attempt to demonstrate that the social isolation of the urban poor is one of the primary obstacles facing this group in their struggle for upward mobility in American society. Because of their isolation the poor are limited in their knowledge of the larger society and restricted in their access to avenues of upward mobility. Upward mobility is not confined to raising one's socio-economic status, but in line with Arensberg, Warner, and others, may be viewed ". . . as a function of participation in events." (Arensberg 1965:196). As a person climbs the socio-economic scale, he has a wider choice of alternatives open to him in terms of jobs, residence, schools, formal organizations, etc., and he also enjoys a greater range of associations and friendships. His social activities are no longer confined to the immediate neighborhood or to his own class, racial, or ethnic group. The increased scope of his activities allows him to learn and to emulate the behavior patterns of other class levels and to acquire status through participation in institutions associated with higher socio-economic levels.

If we take participation in the institutions of the larger society as an index of social mobility, then we may analyze the problem of poverty in the United States within the theoretical framework of acculturation and assimilation. While most studies of acculturation have focused on the adaptations of foreign immigrant groups to American culture, it is also possible to examine the class structure of American society in terms of the degree to which the different classes diverge in terms of values and behavior patterns. Instead of concentrating solely on the socio-economic characteristics of the poor, we can look at their family and community life to see how these differ from other class groups in the society. In particular, we shall be concerned with how their style of life influences their pattern of interaction within the larger society. What models do they have within their immediate community for learning different values and behavior patterns? What opportunities do they have to interact with people of other class levels?

Gordon, in his book on Assimilation in American Life, refers to the structural isolation of certain racial, religious and ethnic groups in the United States as the basis for their lack of assimilation into the larger society. (Gordon 1964). Gordon maintains that these groups, while practicing the same basic cultural patterns as the rest of the society, tend to confine their primary group contacts within fairly circumscribed class and ethnic groups.(Ibid: 34). Thus he distinguishes between cultural assimilation or acculturation, which refers to the adoption of the beliefs and practices of the dominant group in the society, and structural assimilation, whereby primary group contacts are widened to include other ethnic groups in the society. In short, the structurally assimilated no longer confine their social life and other primary group contacts to a particular racial, religious or ethnic group. According to Gordon, cultural assimilation precedes structual assimilation, which so long as it persists, reinforces the existence of separate sub-societies. Gordon states:

> "While it is not possible for cultural pluralism to exist without the existence of separate sub-societies, the reverse is not the case. It is possible for separate sub-societies to continue their existence even while the cultural differences between them become progressively reduced and even in greater part eliminated." (Ibid: 158).

We maintain that the distinction between cultural and structural pluralism, or its converse, cultural and structural assimilation, can also be applied to class groups in American society. In short, we maintain that class groups in the United States share the same basic value system, but continue to be structurally differentiated from each other by virtue of differential patterns of interaction. It is not the values of the poor which distinguish them from other class groups in the society or retard their upward mobility. It is their marginal status with respect to those institutions which govern access to elite positions in the society.

Differential participation is inevitable in a stratified society where access to sources of prestige, power and wealth follow class lines. As M.G. Smith has pointed out: "Not inequality, but the modes of its institutionalization, its bases and forms, are the relevant materials for identifying and analyzing stratification systems." (M.G. Smith 1965: 148). Smith classifies societies into three types, depending upon their degree of institutional diversity: 1) the homogeneous society, the members of which share a single system of institutions; 2) the heterogeneous society, in which members practice differing styles or alternatives to one basic institutional system; and 3) the plural society, the segments of which constitute distinct cultural groups practicing radically different institutional systems and held together only through the dominant power of one of the groups in the society. (Ibid.: 80-88).

While Smith never makes this explicit, the differences between the homogeneous, the heterogeneous, and the plural society can also be seen as developmental stages in a continuum from a rigidly stratified society to an open class system. (Cf. V. Rubin 1960: 784). In the plural society, status is based primarily on ascribed characteristics such as race, language, religion or ethnic group, and mobility is possible only within each of these ascribed status groups. In the homogeneous society, on the other hand, there are no ascribed statuses and mobility is open to everyone solely on the basis of achievement. The heterogeneous society, then, represents an intermediate stage in which status is based largely on achievement but is not equally open to everyone. In the heterogeneous society, certain groups are systematically excluded from access to elite positions on the basis of ascriptive criteria.

As Smith points out, the United States is a good example of a heterogeneous society. (Smith 1965: 865). While the moral and legal philosophy of American democracy rests on equality and the open class system, it is clear that the Negro and other minority groups are judged on the basis of ascriptive as well as achievement criteria. Referring to American Negroes, Smith observes:

> ". . . American Negroes are culturally diverse and may be subdivided institutionally into two or more sections, the acculturated extreme consisting of those who have adopted white American culture as far as the present color-caste arrangement permits, while the opposite extreme consists of those whose religious, kinship, economic and associational institutions are furthest removed from white norms. It follows that American Negroes do not form a separate cultural section. They are a subordinate social segment of a culturally heterogeneous society and may differ among themselves institutionally." (Smith 1965: 85).

American Negroes are not then a plural segment of American society, in Smith's sense of the term. They share the basic value system of the dominant white society and adhere to these values as far as the opportunity structure permits. In short, to return to Gordon's terms, they are acculturated but not assimilated; they are taught the value systems of the larger society, but they are not encouraged to participate in the institutions of that society. In a sense, then, divergent life styles among Negroes result directly from ascriptive barriers imposed upon their assimilation into the larger society.

We propose to compare the life styles of the American Negro low-income group with that of the Puerto Rican poor in San Juan. Unlike the American Negro, the Puerto Rican poor cannot be distinguished on racial, religious, or ethnic grounds from the rest of Puerto Rican society. Though their mobility as individuals may be limited on racial grounds, the poor cannot be set apart as a distinct racial group as are Negroes in the United States. Status in Puerto Rico is based on class membership rather than on race. The Puerto Rican poor also face structural barriers to their participation in the larger society, but the barrier is socio-economic and not racial. Poverty is the only criterion which sets them apart from other class groups in the society. Our primary aim in this report will be to compare the impact of class and racial barriers upon the assimilation of the urban poor into the larger society. A comparison of the historical background of the Negro in Puerto Rico and in the United States will help us to understand these differences.

The Historical Background

In contrast to the United States, Negroes were completely assimilated into Puerto Rican society. In Steward's terms: "Negroes appear never to have formed a separate socio-cultural segment within the structure of Puerto Rican society." (Steward 1956: 496). The explanation for this lies in the way in which the Negro was incorporated into Puerto Rican society.

The number of Negroes brought to Puerto Rico as slaves was never very large, and certainly never reached the proportions found in the British and French Caribbean, or even in the American South. In 1777, for example, the slave population numbered only 11 percent of the total. (Ibid: 46). At its height in 1846, the total number of slaves amounted to only 51,265 persons. (Ibid: 57). This largely reflected the late and slow development of sugar plantations in Puerto Rico, which began to be exploited commercially only after the loss of Spain's richer colonies in the New World. For centuries Puerto Rico served Spain primarily as a military outpost and fuel station for the important trade routes between the mother country and her mainland colonies.

As commercial agriculture increased in the nineteenth century, restrictive rules against Negroes were adopted, including the infamous Black Code (Códego Negro) in 1848. (Ibid: 496). However, it was soon found that the body of free labor was adequate to meet the demands of the growing sugar industry and the importation of slaves declined and rules against them were relaxed. In 1846, the peak year for slavery in Puerto Rico, the number of free "colored" people was more than three and a half times the number of Negro or colored slaves. (Ibid: 56). The high proportion of free Negroes and mulattoes was due largely to a liberal policy of manumission sanctioned by the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. A slave could buy his freedom or that of his family and he could earn his freedom through military service. The Church blessed masters who freed their slaves on their deathbed. Runaway slaves from other islands who embraced Catholicism were given refuge on the island and granted a small plot of land to cultivate. Miscegenation between white masters and their Negro mistresses was common and the children usually took the status of their fathers as free men.

Miscegenation continued at such a pace that today it is impossible to make clearcut racial distinctions within the Puerto Rican population.

Mintz writes:

> "When an American accustomed to the American cultural standard that any 'Negro blood' defines an individual as a 'Negro,' seeks to divide the Puerto Rican people into two fixed racial categories, he soon finds the task impossible. There are, of course, many people who fit in with customary American standards of 'Negro' and 'white;' but there are a large number of Puerto Rican people who might best be defined as 'mixed.' (Mintz 1956: 410).

Class differences coincide with racial composition to the extent that there are more dark-skinned persons in the lower class and more light-skinned persons in the upper class. However, the division is by no means absolute and from colonial times to the present day, Negroes have held elite positions in the political and social life of the island. Negro patriots such as José C. Barbosa played an important role in Puerto Rico's struggle for independence from Spain and most Negroes strongly supported the separatist movement. Steward gives the following explanation:

> "The Negroes could best realize their objectives in the struggle for equality at that time by identifying themselves with the ideal of self-government in Puerto Rico, through which the separate identities of white and Negro Spanish subjects might be subordinated to the dominant concept of Puerto Rican nationality."
> (Steward 1956: 497).

Class has always constituted a more important division in Puerto Rican society than race. Historically, Negroes identified with their local community and class segment within Puerto Rican society rather than with any racial group. As in the United States, the majority of Negroes were poor, but so were the majority of all Puerto Ricans. Today the poor still constitute the vast bulk of the Puerto Rican population, despite the rapid growth of a middle class brought about by the island's expanding economy. The poor have received added attention since 1940 with the advent to political control of Muñoz Marín and the Popular Party, which directed a major part of its efforts toward raising the socio-economic level of the poor population. Both the size of the low-income population and the attention they have received from the government have made it easier for the Puerto Rican poor to identify with their society. In a sense, they are the society and the middle and upper classes constitute the minority.

Many factors facilitating the integration of Negroes in Puerto Rico were lacking in the United States. The number of Negroes brought to the United States was much larger, reaching four million on the eve of abolition in 1860. Like Puerto Rico, the heaviest traffic in slaves occurred later than in the British or French colonies, reaching a peak toward the end of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth century. (Wagley and Harris 1958: 120-121). More importantly, the great majority of Negroes in the United States were slaves; at the time of abolition, the number of Negro free men numbered less than 500,000.(Frazier 1949: 39, 62). This reflected the strong legal strictures against manumission, (Wagley and Harris 1958: 124) in contrast to the liberal policies operating in Puerto Rico and in other Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Wagley and Harris write:

> "The most important distinction between the Latin and North American systems was that once free, the Negro enjoyed a legal status equal to that of any citizen of the state, even while millions of his brothers were still enslaved. Negroes could find public and private employment and through education and wealth could achieve high social rank. But in the United States, instead of finding the channels of integration and assimilation open for his use, the Negro emerged from slavery as a pariah." (Ibid: 126).

The Negro slave in the United States was regarded as chattel with no rights except those granted by his master. Slaves were not permitted to marry and children derived their legal status from their mother, so that even children of white masters often remained slaves. Slaves could not own property or work to buy their freedom. They could not testify in court, except against each other, and in many states were denied freedom of assembly. They were not educated, even in basic literacy, or encouraged to join churches. Many of the same restrictions applied to free Negroes and mulattoes, who in some cases were worse off than slaves since they lacked even the minimal economic security of the plantation. Thus even among the free, the distinction between the races was maintained so that poor whites (who were numerous in the South) and poor Negroes never attained the sense of common struggle felt by both groups in Puerto Rico.

Both ideological and economic forces worked against the assimilation of Negroes in the United States. Unlike Puerto Rico, slavery was essential to the maintenance of the booming cotton plantation economy in the South. Abolition came at a time when this economy had reached its peak, and following emancipation, many southern state governments passed restrictive Black Codes to insure planters of an adequate labor supply. (Ibid: 128). Southern planters could not rely on free labor as readily as in Puerto Rico.

Tannenbaum emphasizes the religious differences in the North American and Latin American treatment of slaves. (Tannenbaum 1947). In Puerto Rico, for example, the Catholic Church encouraged the Negro to be baptized as a member of the faith, thereby making him the spiritual equal of his master. The doctrine of dignidad or the basic inviolability of the individual persists to this day and helps explain the integration of the poor into the larger society. Despite marked differences in socio-economic rank, all persons are personally and morally equal before God and their status is not entirely dependent on wealth and possessions. Protestantism, however, tended to regard slavery as a secular institution in which the church should not intervene. Negroes were not welcomed into the white man's church and were forced to establish their own places of worship both within and outside existing denominations. Calvinism, by measuring personal salvation in terms of socio-economic status, tended to give spiritual support to the doctrine of white superiority.

Slavery and the years of subjugation which followed it not only denied the Negro any possibility of assimilation into American society, but also militated against the retention of African heritage among Negroes in the United States. While the majority of slaves came from West Africa, they represented many different tribal groups and linguistic stocks and often were not even able to communicate with each other. A significant number of slaves were brought to the United States from the West Indies, where they had already been acculturated to European ways. (Wagley and Harris 1958: 121). Newly arrived African slaves were subject to a severe "seasoning" process in which older, acculturated Negroes as well as their white masters participated.

Slaves in the United States never had the opportunity to set up separate, all-Negro communities like the Bush Negroes in Surinam or the Maroons in Jamaica. African retentions among New World Negroes are strongest in these communities where slaves ran away relatively early, before the process of acculturation could really take hold, and continued to maintain a separate existence long after emancipation. Runaway slaves in the United States used the underground railroad to escape to the North, where possibilities of acculturation to American culture were even greater than in the South.

Unlike the West Indies and other plantation areas of South America, the majority of slaveholders in the American South operated on a small scale with less than ten slaves per owner. (Herskovits 1958: 116-120). This varied, of course, from one region to another but the prevalence of small-scale plantations permitted much greater contact with white owners and their families than was possible in the large-scale, commercial operations of the West Indies. Opportunities for acculturation were also greater among household servants than among field hands, and among Negroes living in town than among those resident on rural estates. However, the lack of free Negro laborers prevented the gradual process of assimilation which took place in Puerto Rico.

Perhaps the most important factor inhibiting the retention of African heritage among American Negroes was the disruption of the family. We have mentioned previously that slaves were not allowed to marry and that children took the status of their slave mothers. Families were often separated by slavery, though young children were usually permitted to go with their mother. Female slaves were taken as concubines by white masters regardless of their Negro mate's wishes. These practices effectively denied the Negro man any legal rights or authority over his family, and according to Frazier (1939) is the basis for the matrifocal family among Negroes today. While we would argue that the explanation for the matrifocal family must be sought in current social and economic forces, there can be no question that slavery in the United States severely disrupted the Negro family and particularly abrogated the authority of the Negro man. The fragmentation of Negro family life made it all the more difficult to maintain group cohesion and transmit traditions from one generation to another.

As a result, the American Negro has little or no knowledge of his African heritage and retains only a few folk practices in diet, music, folklore and religious beliefs. Even Herskovits, the champion of African cultural heritages in the New World, is forced to admit:

> ". . . One can set off the United States from the rest of the New World as a region where departure from African modes of life was greatest, and where such Africanisms as persisted were carried through in generalized form, almost never directly referable to a specific tribe or a definite area." (Herskovits 1958: 122).

African retentions among Negroes in Puerto Rico were also very weak, but Negroes were so thoroughly assimilated into Puerto Rican society that it was not important for them to maintain a separate cultural identity. In the United States the situation was radically different. The Negro slave was stripped of his cultural heritage at the same time that he was assigned a subordinate status in the larger social order. He was forced to abide by the values of the larger society, but he was not accepted by them as an equal, participating member. Thus, the American Negro is truly alienated. He is neither an integral member of American society nor does he retain a separate cultural identity of his own.

Conclusions

Racial exclusion has retarded indefinitely the processes of assimilation and upward mobility among the Negro poor. It has limited the possibilities for both cultural and structural assimilation and led to greater instability and personal disorganization than is evident among the Puerto Rican poor. Above all, rejection by the larger society has created identity problems for the American Negro, who often internalizes this rejection and projects a negative self-image onto all members of his group.

In the following chapters, we shall compare the status of American Negro and Puerto Rican low-income groups in the larger society and describe their processes of upward mobility. We shall attempt to show how family and community patterns differ among the poor and limit their interaction with other class groups in the society. Our data will be drawn from three types of low-income communities, a Puerto Rican shanty town and public housing project studied by the author in 1959-60 and a northern Negro ghetto in which research was completed in 1966. A comparison of three types of low-income communities, differing in race and culture, but similar in status, should give us an interesting insight into the marginal position of the urban poor in complex society.

Chapter II

THE PUERTO RICAN SHANTY TOWN

To the outsider, the area along the northern border of the Martin Peña Canal appears to be one unbroken mass of tiny shacks packed one upon the other in hopeless confusion. There is no apparent order to this maze of narrow, twisting alleyways, few of which deserve to be called streets. Nothing appears to distinguish one section from the other, and so outsiders often lump the whole area together under the infamous name of El Fanguito (Little Mud Hole).

For people living in the area, however, El Fanguito is only one of the shanty towns, perhaps the best known. Each shanty town has a special name -- Tras Talleres, Shanghai, Los Bravos de Boston -- and with the name goes a distinct personality. The boundaries are not geographic, though a street leading in from the main thoroughfare may come to serve as a dividing line. Nor do these boundaries always coincide with the political division into barrios set up for administrative purposes. The primary factor distinguishing one shanty town from the other is a group sense of belonging together.

This chapter deals with one of these shanty towns, which we shall call here by the fictitious name of Los Peleteros. The author conducted field work in Los Peleteros for a period of fifteen months in 1959 and 1960 as part of a study aimed at measuring the effects of changes in family and community life resulting from the move from a shanty town to a public housing project to be described in the next chapter.

Both these low-income communities will be viewed within a context of the wider metropolitan community of which they form a part. It is impossible to understand the function of shanty towns and public housing projects except in terms of the overall pattern of urban development in the San Juan Metropolitan Area. Their emergence as distinct neighborhoods can be explained largely in terms of the need for an urban labor force to fill the demands of San Juan as the ever-expanding economic, political, and cultural center of Puerto Rico. Yet, the shanty town and public housing project are characterized by specific physical features and life styles which distinguish them from other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area. We shall examine the setting and style of life in the shanty town in the following pages.

Growth of Shanty Towns

Metropolitan San Juan is the economic, political, and cultural center of Puerto Rico. This vast urban complex comprises most of the island's manufacturing, financial and trade activities; the seat of the Commonwealth Government and the headquarters of numerous local and Federal agencies, as well as U. S. military and naval installations; the University of Puerto Rico plus many primary and secondary schools, theaters, and movie houses. The past decade has seen the inauguration of a new international airport and expanded dock facilities for heavy trans-Atlantic shipping; the construction of tall, ultra-modern office and apartment buildings; and the spread along the periphery of suburban Levittowns bordering on new super highways with their large, bright shopping centers. The flourishing tourist industry has invaded the best beachfront with a string of new luxury hotels and brightly colored signs in English welcome the visitor and urge him to see the latest floor show at one of the fashionable nightclubs.

The present ecological pattern of Metropolitan San Juan reflects neither the orderly class stratification of concentric zones characteristic of the North American factory city nor the nucleated Spanish pattern centering on a plaza, but a huge "mosaic of discontinuities" typical of the new metropolitan community (Arensberg 1955; 1156). Santurce, the busy commerical center of San Juan, is a hodge-podge of neighborhoods varying in type of housing, per capita income, population density, land use and other socio-economic indicators. (Caplow et al, 1964: 38-39). But the old colonial two-class division between rich and poor is still noticeable in two relatively homogeneous areas remaining at the opposite ends of Santurce - the fashionable residential district along the beachfront and the sordid shanty towns along the Martin Peña Canal.

Shanty towns are a relatively recent phenomenon in Metropolitan San Juan. The depression of the thirties gave migration its real impetus; many workers fled the rural area in search of employment in the city and lacking resources, built their homes on public lands bordering the Martin Peña Canal. Despite the attraction of other cities, the largest number of rural migrants always headed toward the San Juan Metropolitan Area, which as early as 1935 to 1940 received over one-half of all inter-regional migrants. (Parke, 1952: 13). Though the great mass came from adjacent regions, particularly in this early period, migrants to San Juan have been drawn from all parts of the island. Thus, in Los Peloteros, the birthplaces of rural migrants represent nearly every municipality on the island. There is no apparent tendency for families from the same region to settle in one neighborhood, as in some African and Asian cities. This may be true of a recently settled shanty town, but where a neighborhood has been established over one generation, as in this case, any initial concentration from one area has been dispersed and replaced by more recent migrants.

The formation of shanty towns appears to have started at a point close to the mouth of the Martin Peña Canal and to have spread in linear fashion along its banks inland, in the direction of Río Piedras. Shanty towns have characteristically been confined to marginal public lands along the banks of the Canal or on the waterfront, property essentially unfit for either residential or commercial use. Residents never acquire legal title to the land, which remains public property, but shanties on it are bought and sold in perfectly legal transactions. Even the government compensates shanty town dwellers for the loss of their homes in slum clearance programs.

This location along marginal, public lands distinguishes shanty towns from what may properly be called a slum. Slums are usually located in the center of the city, close to the central business district, and consist of once adequate structures which have been converted from their original use to tenements housing many times their anticipated occupancy. Shanties, on the other hand, are from the outset inadequate structures; most are rather flimsily constructed with makeshift materials and unskilled labor provided by the owner and his friends. Thus, while slums are a form of blight or deterioration characteristic of highly industrialized cities, shanty towns are commonly found in the pre-industrial cities of the underdeveloped areas where marginal, public lands still exist on the urban fringe.

A decade ago, it was estimated that a third of the population of the San Juan Metropolitan Area or approximately 150,000 people lived in shanty towns (Barañano, 1955-56:..25-26). Though this figure has undoubtedly been reduced through the slum clearance and public housing programs, new shanty towns are constantly springing up as the stream of migrants continues to pour into the metropolis. It has been estimated that from 800 to 1200 families, mostly in the low-income group, migrate to San Juan every year (*Ibid*: 15). Overcrowding can be measured by the fact that the average lot size in shanty towns is 16 by 24 feet, with overall densities ranging from 300 to 380 persons per net residential acre (*Ibid*: 4).

Each shanty town has been built up gradually over many years through the joint efforts of the families settling there. Twenty-five years ago, for example, the first families arriving in Los Peloteros found only *mangle* (mangrove) growing in the swampy land destined to become their homes. They cleared and filled in a few plots to construct their houses. They built plank sidewalks connecting different parts of the shanty town. Today street names such as O'Higgins, Colón, and Pablo Nuñez commemorate the struggle of these first families in the places where they established their homes.

For many years Los Peloteros was without water and electricity. The entire *barrio* depended upon one single public faucet. Now running water and electricity have been installed in almost every house, thanks to the work of *barrio* committees. As recently as 1959, a group of neighbors went to the Aqueduct Authority to complain about the shortage of water in one section of the shanty town. The Aqueduct Authority informed the group that no funds could be allocated for installing new pipes in Los Peloteros because the houses were soon to be demolished, under the urban renewal program. The group then rallied support among their neighbors, who refused to pay their water bills. They collected signatures for a petition to Doña Felisa, the well-known Mayoress of San Juan, and a few of the more articulate individuals went to see her personally. Eventaully, a new and larger pipe line was installed.

In the same way, committees were formed to protest the poor conditions of the streets in the shanty town. They succeeded in having a few of the principal streets filled in with gravel, but still none are paved or provided with lighting. When the weather is dry, the air is choked with dust churned up by passing motor vehicles. In heavy rains, the roads are closed to motor traffic and even become difficult for pedestrians. Because of the low level of the land, water drains into the shanty towns from higher ground, turning the streets to mud. Pools of stagnant water are left behind for days, creating additional health hazards.

No sewage system was ever installed in Los Peloteros. Most families have latrines in the back of the house and a few have flush toilets with pipes that empty into the Canal. Refuse and waste are also disposed of in the Canal, since there is no garbage collection service. Until recently, the Canal served as a main sewage outlet for the city as a whole, and the polluted waters produce a foul, nauseating stench. As has been pointed out, it is only in such marginal land where decent human habitation is impossible, that shanty towns could grow.

As we can see, shanty town dwellers are still deprived of many essential public services - garbage collection, a sewage system, street lighting and paved roads. They also must leave the neighborhood to do most of their shopping. At the main entrance to the shanty town is a cluster of old frame buildings housing a grocery store, a pharmacy, a barber shop, and a billiard hall. In addition, there are several small *tiendas* scattered throughout the neighborhood, selling a limited variety of canned goods and other commodities plus some still smaller *ventorrillos* where the number of articles is reduced to a few non-perishable items such as lard, matches, or cans of tomato paste. For daily purchases, Pelotereños rely largely on these local stores, but usually the big, weekly purchase of food (*la compra*) is made at a larger *colmado* in Barrio Obrero, an old working-class district located near the shanty town. Clothing and household goods are also bought in Barrio Obrero, where they are colorfully displayed on racks outside the store. This is where Pelotereños go to movies or dances on Saturday nights or where men meet at a favorite *cafetín*. (cafe) In a sense, Los Peloteros is considered merely a poorer offshoot of *el barrio*, as it is popularly called.

Of course, Pelotereños must leave the neighborhood to find work because there are almost no employment opportunities in the shanty town itself. As early as five or six in the morning, they board the busses on the main avenue and scatter to all parts of the city, from the docks in old San Juan to the new suburbs under construction in Río Piedras. Here we can see clearly the dependence of the shanty town on the wider metropolitan community.

Los Peloteros is then by no means a self-contained community. It is a one-class segregation, highly dependent on the resources and services of the wider metropolitan community. Shanty town residents are in constant contact with people from other neighborhoods and other socio-economic levels in the city. The people they work for, the people they buy from, and their friends and relatives living in other parts of the city, all represent part of the larger metropolitan community. They depend on the city to provide them with water, electricity and institutional facilities such as schools and hospitals. They participate in political parties, labor unions and other organizations which link them to the larger urban area. Thus, we cannot study the shanty town as an isolated whole. Its heavy dependence on the resources, services and institutions of the larger urban community make it an integral part of the modern metropolis.

Variations in Life Style

Because of its location on marginal land, the shanty town is set off both physically and socially from the rest of the metropolitan area. The only residential area bordering on Los Peloteros is the string of equally squalid shanty towns leading off from its western boundary. To the south and east it is bounded by the water of the Channel, and to the north by a main thoroughfare, now a four-lane highway.

A total of 2,679 families live in the political subdivision comprising Los Peloteros, in an area covering approximately 122 acres. Except for a narrow strip of land bordering the new expressway, every available inch of land has been utilized. Some houses even extend over the banks of the Channel, supported by wooden piles built into the water. These houses are considered the poorest in the shanty town and their inhabitants are referred to as los de abajo (those below). Plank sidewalks just wide enough to allow two people to pass each other provide the only means of access. Further inland, conditions improve somewhat and houses are higher priced. Thus, residence within the shanty town itself is ranked differentially depending upon distance from the Channel.

Houses vary considerably in size and condition. Some have as many as three bedrooms while the majority have only one and a few are just one-room shacks. Some are well-kept and painted, others in need of major repair, and yet others are completely beyond repair. To illustrate the variation in house values, three adjacent houses in Los Peloteros received assessments at the same time for $1600, $600 and $100 respectively.

Most houses in the shanty town are owner-occupied since there is a strong aversion to rental housing among the poor.[1] Given the insecurity of employment and the utter lack of reserves with which to meet emergencies like illness or death, many families feel extremely reluctant to commit themselves to a required monthly payment, no matter how minimal. Horrible stories are told of people evicted from public housing because they could not pay the rent. In addition, a house symbolizes a man's ability to care for his family. Clear distinctions are made between consensual unions in which the man maintains his family in a separate household and casual affairs in which the woman continues to be resident in another household. The acquisition of an independent household means that the union, though not legal, was undertaken in good faith.

Shanties now are generally bought because of the lack of space in the shanty town for new construction. In some cases, old houses are bought cheaply and repaired and remodeled by the new owner, with the help of his neighbors and friends. The exchange of labor and skills in the repair and improvement of their homes constitutes one of the main avenues of cooperation among men in the shanty town. The only compensation in these cases may be in the form of food and drink, and of course the expectation that these favors will be reciprocated. A man who fails to reciprocate will find himself without an assistant when he needs one.

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[1] Eighty-three percent of the Peloterẽno families interviewed owned their homes.

Despite differences in size and state of repair, however, houses follow a standard design which retains many rural features. Most houses are simple, single-story frame buildings with wooden floors and walls and roofs of corrugated, galvanized iron. All of the houses are raised on wooden piles to prevent inundation in heavy rains as well as to forestall decay since there is no basement. Because of the swampy soil, shanties must be periodically raised and the land underneath refilled with dirt and rocks. In this task, shanty town families are customarily assisted by the local compromisario, or ward boss of the Popular Party, who supplies men and materials for the operation. The compromisario is always a resident of the shanty town and his office in Los Peloteros, located prominently at the main entrance to the neighborhood, is often visited by residents requesting assistance of various kinds.

There are usually two entrances to each house, one in the back and the main one in front. Since the house is built high, it must be entered by a few wooden steps which, when expenses and space permit, are expanded into a small porch or veranda. Most casual conversation between neighbors is conducted on the porch or steps or from the window. Sitting on the steps, chatting and watching the passersby, is a common pastime in the late afternoon.

The tempo of life in the shanty town accelerates considerably in the late afternoon when the men return home from work. In the morning, the women are busy washing clothes, cleaning the house and preparing the main meal, which, as in the rural area, is still served at noon. The children are away at school, so the streets are almost deserted and the neighborhood is relatively quiet. But as the children and the men return, and the women finish their work, everyone gathers outside, on the street, on the porches, and in the stores.

More formal visits are received in the living room. Some space in the houses is always reserved for receiving visitors, even if the only furniture consists of a few old wooden chairs. Where bedroom space is inadequate, as is often the case in large households, the living room will be converted into a bedroom at night by bringing out folding cots which are stored away during the day. Better homes are furnished with a living room set consisting of matching sofa and chairs and perhaps a coffee table. Brightly colored, cheap plastic covers have replaced the old rural wicker and wood combination. The old-fashioned china closet, has been shoved to one side and the place of prominence is now occupied by a portable television set. Large painted photographs of family members hang on the wall along with the school diplomas in which the family takes such pride. The floor is lined with linoleum which is always kept spotlessly clean.

No home has a separate dining room and few families even own dining room furniture since its value is mostly symbolic. Dining room furniture is a sign of prosperity in the shanty town household but has little practical use. The family rarely eats together and only the male head of the household or special guests are served at the table. Everyone else eats wherever he happens to be sitting or standing.

The kitchen may be an additional room or simply an extension of the living room, but, in keeping with rural custom, it is always in the rear of the house. A few families are fortunate enough to own a gas stove, the gas for which is supplied from a tank installed outside the house. Kerosene stoves are still found in most shanty town households, increasing the danger of fire with wooden shacks packed so closely together. A majority of families now own a refrigerator, sometimes secondhand, which is always prominently displayed in the living room. Others still own an old fashioned icebox for which they must buy ice daily from local delivery trucks, or they are forced to store a few items like milk in their neighbor's refrigerator. The amount of food stored is usually very small since most perishable articles are purchased daily. Only staples such as rice, beans, lard and tomato sauce are bought in quantity and in advance.

Bedrooms exhibit the same variation in living standards. Only the better houses in the shanty town have three bedrooms, permitting parents and children of the opposite sex to sleep separately. Even then, older children generally share beds with siblings of the same sex. A man and wife always occupy one bed alone, except when newborn infants sleep with them to aid the mother in breastfeeding. A baby may also be put in a small hammock strung across the parents' bed within easy reach of the mother. In one extreme case, a family of ten shared one bedroom, the parents occupying one bed and their eight children another.

Despite the overcrowding, there is great emphasis on personal cleanliness. Following rural custom, showers are taken daily, usually in the late afternoon when the men return from work. The shower is improvised in a closet-sized wooden shack at the back of the house near the latrine. The water drains off into the yard through a hole in the floor. Families without these facilities have to be content with a sponge bath.

Most persons do not own many clothes, so that washing seems to be almost a daily occurrence. Washing is usually done outside the house where it is cooler, using an aluminum tub and wooden washboard. Only a few families can afford the luxury of a washing machine, though most now own electric irons. Since closets are virtually unknown, clothes are hung from hangers on a pole nailed across one corner of the bedroom or, in more prosperous families, stored in a ropero or wooden wardrobe.

The most common article in any household is a radio. All day long it is turned on full volume, blaring out mournful love songs, and reporting the latest news and baseball scores or winners at the race track. In recent years, television has gained increasing popularity and families without one, often gather together in a neighbor's house to see the latest novela (soap opera).

Differences in the quantity and quality of household furnishings are matched by similar differences in diet. The common staple is rice and beans. One man exclaimed bitterly: *"Nosotros los pobres, a mediodía comemos arroz con habichuelas y a la tarde habichuelas con arroz."* (At noon we poor eat rice and beans, and at night beans and rice" - meaning leftovers warmed over and mixed together.)

Occasionally a piece of meat is prepared with the rice and beans, but most families reserve meat for Sundays and other festive occasions. *Lechón asado* or barbecued pig is considered the ideal delicacy and some families raise pigs in their yards and slaughter them for home consumption or sell them to neighbors. Chickens are also raised for sale and for home consumption, and many persons eat eggs daily. Pigs and chickens are cheap to raise because they can be fed leftovers and do not need much space to roam.

The extreme congestion and swampy soil prohibit the cultivation of vegatables, but herbs of various kinds may be grown as a popular folk remedy. The use of herbs as a folk remedy is another rural custom maintained chiefly by the women, who often consult each other in regard to an appropriate remedy.

Most food, of course, is store-bought and food is the highest item in the family budget. Expenditure varies naturally with the number of persons in the family (Table 1) and also with income (Table 2), but the average amount spent on food is between $15 to $20 weekly.

Clothing also reflects rural styles, especially among the older generation. Young girls may wear tight skirts and even slacks, though usually just for the beach. There is a considerable distinction made between clothing that is proper for the home and for the public, and women particularly will change their shoes and dress before leaving the shanty town. Children also may be prevented from starting school until the family is able to clothe them properly.

Store-bought clothing carries more prestige than articles made at home. Even expensive items like a wedding gown may be rented or purchased second-hand, but it is never sewn at home. The wedding cake, also, may be purchased at one of the finer bakeries and can cost as much as $15. Families will go to considerable expense to finance a wedding because it is an important reflection of social status. The church in which the wedding is performed, the number of attendants, and the elaborateness of the *fiesta* following the ceremony are all status considerations.

The same importance is attached to the amount of money spent on other *rites de passage* or life crisis ceremonies. Referring to a recent death in the neighborhood, one of my informants remarked: "It was a nice funeral - not cheap." A baptism may be postponed until there is enough money available to celebrate it properly. One man explained that he was waiting to collect $100 from a revolving fund at work to baptize his first-born son.

In all life-crisis ceremonies there is a conscious attempt to emulate the standards of the more affluent families in Puerto Rican society because of the prestige attached to their observance. Thus, the gown, the cake, and the wedding reception all symbolize middle or upper-class values which have been incorporated into lower-class life. (Cf. R. Scheele, 1956: 456). Some couples even have a honeymoon in one of the less expensive hotels in the city or mountain area. These elaborate rituals distinguish them sharply from couples who merely live together in consensual union, without the benefit of either a religious or civil ceremony. The social status attached to these ceremonies is as important as the frame of legality which they provide.

It would seem that the manner in which life crisis ceremonies are celebrated is closely correlated with other differences in the standard of living such as housing, furnishing and diet. That is, the shanty town family that can afford an elaborate church wedding will also tend to have a larger house, more furniture and a better diet. All of these differences contribute to important status distinctions within the shanty town which are at variance with the image of homogeneity held by the outside world. These differences might appear small to the outsider, but to the Peloterеño, for whom the shanty town is the primary reference group, they are very important.

However, the drive for prestige and status in the shanty town is also checked by the strong community spirit of the shanty town, reflected in extensive patterns of mutual aid. We have seen how Peloterenos may donate the use of their refrigerator, or invite a neighbor's children to watch television, and how men cooperate in the repair and improvement of their homes. Small articles like tools or electric irons are constantly being borrowed, while very poor families may be forced to tap their neighbor's electricity or to draw on their water supply. Even food is shared. Some old men living alone in the shanty town depend almost completely on neighboring families for their meals, for which they contribute little or nothing. As one of my informants remarked when a neighbor passed by with a plate of rice and beans: "Nadie aqui pasa hambre." (No one goes hungry here.)

The pattern of sharing and mutual aid acts as a leveling device in the shanty town community, much as the sponsoring of religious fiestas redistributes wealth in the peasant community (Wolf 1957: 4-5). The person who shares his possessions with others is rewarded with greater prestige than the one who withholds them exclusively for his own use. By his ability to help others, he demonstrates his own relative prosperity. Thus, sharing support status distinctions based on differences in living standards, at the same time that it prevents these distinctions from becoming too great. By distributing benefits which might otherwise be confined to a few families, sharing tends to equalize some of the differences in socio-economic standing in the shanty town. Too high a degree of internal differentiation would weaken neighborhood solidarity by destroying its basic homogeneity. The pattern of sharing, on the other hand, ties Peloterеños together in a system of mutual aid; community cohesion is reinforced through the interdependence of its members.

Earning a Living

Economic pressure accounts for the great bulk of urban migration into the shanty town. Occasionally families are attracted to the metropolis by its superior educational facilities for thier children or because a member of the family needs special medical attention. But most migrants come in search of higher pay and better job opportunities or, as they say, *buscando ambiente* (looking for a chance). They are driven by the lack of such opportunities in the rural area.

The largest percentage of Pelotereños born in the rural area started out as landless agricultural laborers, earning less than $500 annually (Table 3). This includes both cane cutters from the coast and landless laborers from the highland coffee and tobacco regions. Most of them lived as *agregados* or squatters on the plantation or farm for which they worked, and were thus dependent on the *patrón* or owner for housing and other necessities as well as wages. They faced long periods of unemployment yearly, particularly in sugar cane during the *tiempo muerto* or dead season. They could look forward to nothing but "an inescapable future in the cane fields." (Mintz, 1956: 352).

In San Juan, migrants have a greater variety of job opportunities open to them, but most are still employed as unskilled laborers. Some men in Los Peloteros work at the docks, or in one of the new factories in the metropolitan area, while the more skilled may be employed as artisans in construction projects. Most men in the shanty town are concentrated in these blue-collar occupations (Table 4). Another group are employed as service workers in restaurants, hotels and other institutions catering to the thriving tourist trade.

None of these jobs offer real economic security. The employment of longshoremen depends on the volume of the shipping trade and they may go for weeks without working. Construction workers may stay at one job for six months or as long as two years, but unless they are permanently employed by a construction company, they must constantly look for new projects. Factory and service jobs are also subject to layoffs and slow periods. Thus the rural migrant has not really escaped the insecurity of agricultural wage labor. Unless he commands some marketable skill, he may find himself in as precarious a position as he was in the rural area.

The urban worker also faces a much more impersonal labor market. In the rural area, he may have been able to establish close ties with the *patrón* and to obtain favors from him which helped to mitigate the sharp differences between them in class position and standard of living. This pattern of employer-employee relations was particularly prevalent in the highland coffee and tobacco regions, where the number of workers per farm is small and the *patrón* often works with his men, (Cf. Wolf, 1956: 229-passim). It was less likely in the large sugar cane combines of the coast which are often owned by absentee corporations, (Cf. Mintz 1956: 351-352).

Nevertheless in terms of individual life histories, migrants have fared quite well. Despite the insecurity of employment, low wages, and other adverse economic conditions, most have improved their life chances considerably through migration to the metropolis. Their salaries, for example, are much higher than what they could have earned in the rural area. Skilled artisans, experienced longshoremen, or facotry workers may make between $2000 and $3000 annually (Table 5), which is relatively high for the Puerto Rican poor. Annual incomes in Los Peleteros among the families interviewed ranged from under $500 to over $5000 annually (Table 6).

Since income depends almost entirely on wages, the number of persons working in the family is of crucial importance in determining annual income. The lowest incomes, of course, are found in homes where no one is working and where families depend largely on public welfare and subsidiary economic activities. On the other hand, where more than one person is working, total annual income often exceeds $3000 and may go as high as $5000 (Table 7).

Grown children or other adults living in the household may contribute tothe family income. Thus, Doña Lourdes' three children worked while she stayed home and took care of the grandchildren. One son and daughter were separated from their spouses and the third son was recently married. His wife also lived in the household and assisted Doña Lourdes in her chores. However, the young bride had no authority in the household because the house belonged to Doña Lourdes and she ruled it without question.

Women also work, usually as domestic servants, or if they are lucky, in one of the new factory jobs, (Table 8). If the woman is married, ordinarily her salary is considered supplementary and she may work only temporarily or part-time in order to meet some emergency like illness or graduation expenses. She does not take over the man's role as economic provider unless he is unable to support his family and in this case his authority in the household diminishes considerably. However, there are also shanty town households where both husband and wife are working in order to achieve a common goal like sending the children to college or buying a house. In one case, for example, the man earned over $3000 a year as a supervisor at a large retail store and his wife earned an additional $1750 as a nurse. They could have afforded an apartment outside the shanty town but were saving to buy a house in an urbanización. Their mobility aspirations were reflected not only in their determination to save, but in the way they raised their children and in the people they associated with in the shanty town.

The poorest elements in the shanty town are found among the aged and among fatherless families where the husband has died or left his family through separation or divorce. These families depend largely on the minimal allotments provided by public welfare or social security supplemented by subsidiary economic activities. Thus, Doña Cantica sells cooked chestnuts to children in the neighborhood to supplement the $68 per month her husband receives in social security. Both of these old people are chronically ill. Her husband used to work at the docks, but broke his back in an accident. The $1000 he received as compensation was quickly consumed in meeting household and medical expenses. Doña Cantica is an epileptic and also suffers from an eye ailment which has severely impaired her vision. She was hospitalized for awhile and continues to receive treatment for her eyes at the public health service. But even the bus fare to the municipal hospital is often more than she can scrape together and she cannot afford to buy the expensive medicines they prescribe.

Subsidiary economic activities are confined to the poorest Peletereño families and can be distinguished from other sources of income in that they are the only jobs found within the shanty town itself, except for the retail stores mentioned earlier. Thus, some old men in Los Peleteros are known as *chiriperos*, persons who make their living by doing odd jobs around the neighborhood. They may collect empty bottles or repair a hole in the floor, but most of them are so old and alcoholic that they cannot hold a steady job. Women like Doña Cantica may also attempt to augment their income by selling *lindberghs* (flavored ice cubes) or cooked chestnuts to neighborhood children.

Women with young children to support may seek help through extramarital relationships. Thus, Carmen, a young widow with five small children, received $50 a month from public welfare and also worked three days a week as a laundress. Her youngest child was born of a married man (her husband's brother), who had several children of his own to support. Though this man could contribute little to household expenses, he wanted Carmen to have yet another child with him. She refused and instead took up with an older man who, as she pointed out, could better support her because his children were already grown. This man no longer allows her to work and provides her with most basic necessities. Most Pelotereños would not frown on extramarital relationships of this type because they are fairly stable and fulfill an obvious economic need.

Illegal activities such as prostitution, the selling of illegal lottery tickets or *bolita* and the manufacture of illegal rum or *cañita*, do not appear to be as widespread in the shanty town as popular opinion would assume. Of course there are differences between shanty towns in this respect, and Pelotereños appeared to pride themselves on having a very small percentage of prostitutes, dope addicts, or other social deviants. Pelotereños told me of police raids when convicts were brought into the shanty town to cut the *mangle* or growth along the Channel where the stills for making *cañita* were hidden. Some men escaped by hiding in the water of the Channel for hours. However, these appeared to be isolated incidents and illegal activities did not seem to constitute a major source of income for most shanty town residents.

Gambling is much more prevalent among the urban poor. Since salaries often cover only basic necessities, many families feel that the only way to get ahead and acquire some capital is through some windfall like winning the lottery or betting on horses. Except for the clearly mobility-conscious, there is little attempt to budget or save. After all, one of my informants argued, he had never saved and yet everything had worked out. How can one plan for the future when one doesn't know what the future will bring?

Some Pelotereños, especially the young, place their hopes for the future on migration to the mainland. Recognizing the limited possibilities of upward mobility on a wage basis in Puerto Rico, they hope to earn higher salaries for the same type of work in New York. One young couple, for example, planned to go to New York to save evough money to return to Puerto Rico and buy their own home in a nice *urbanización*. Many are actually returning[1] as the economy of Puerto Rico provides more jobs for low-income group.

It is clear from the above account that the shanty town, though obviously a one-class segregation, is by no means a homogeneous community. Ranges of income vary considerably, depending on the occupational skill of the breadwinner, the number of persons employed in the family, their dependence on public welfare, and other factors. Most of these sources of income and employment are found outside the immediate community and tie the Peloterño to the outside world. In the eyes of this outside world, all Peloterenos belong to the lower class and the differences between them in standard of living and income levels are insignificant.

The Pelotereño is conscious of his low status in the larger society. However, he tends to measure his success in terms of the strides he himself has made and those he foresees for his children. He tends to compare himself with fellow workers, neighbors and relatives rather than other class groups inthe society. Thus, for the Pelotereño the shanty town is his primary reference group. He is able to accept his low status in the larger society because he has other positions of prestige and status open to him in the immediate community.

Education and Upward Mobility

Education is a primary avenue of upward mobility for the poor in Puerto Rico. The poor have seen that without education they are confined to manual labor and low pay with no security of employment. They aspire to something better for their children. However, the use of public schools has become another indication of class status in Puerto Rican society. Because of the large number of parochial and other private schools on the island, students in public shcools are drawn largely from the lower class.

The marked imporvement in educational facilities in Puerto Rico in recent years can be noted in the fact that the educational level of the younger generation in the shanty town is well above that of their parents. Most men in the rural area did not go beyond the fourth grade, while many women had no schooling at all (Table 9). In comparison, a majority of adolescents in the shanty town have completed the eighth grade and a good number have gone on to high school (Table 10). As Tumin pointed out in his study of social class in Puerto Rico, "high school education is the crucial point in ascending the occupational ladder," (Tumin, 1961: 301). A high school education enables the person to pass form the rank of blue-collar worker to white-collar worker. He is no longer confined to manual labor, but may enter clerical or sales jobs or become a public servant such as a

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1) In the past few years the return of migrants to the island has matched and in some cases even surpassed the number of leaving. In 1961, for example, there was a net in-migration from the mainland to the island of 1,750 persons (Figures supplied from N.Y.C. Migration Division of the Commonwealth Department of Labor).

policeman or a fireman. All of these jobs guarantee the poor a degree of security and prestige which most workers in the shanty town have never known. Significantly, not one boy in Los Peloteros wants to become a common laborer or agricultural worker, the two occupations with the least security and lowest on the social scale. (Table 11). Adolescents in the shanty town have set their sights on the symbols of middle-class status - a high school education, a white-collar job, a home in an urbanizacion. Some even hope to go to college and become teachers, nurses or engineers.

One of the most notable changes among the younger generation is the new emphasis on equality of education for the sexes. Several adult women in Los Peloteros complained that their parents lacked interest in their schooling, reflecting the traditional view that education is wasted on women. With increasing occupational opportunities for women however, its utility has been quickly realized. Peloteño girls are on a par with boys in their educational achievements. (Table 10). As with the boys, we may note a distinct preference for white-collar jobs in the girls' preference for secretarial and sales employment. (Table 11).

Parents are sometimes willing to go to great lengths to help their children achieve their goals. One middle-aged couple in Los Peloteros were putting two children through college on their combined salaries. Their son was studying engineering at the University of Puerto Rico and their daughter was studying medicine in Spain. The wife worked in a garment factory and her husband worked out on the island and could only return home once a month. They owned a home in a new housing development, but rented it out to pay the mortgage. They were willing to sacrifice their own comfort for the sake of their children's education.

There are some shanty town families who feel it impossible -- and perhaps unnecessary - to give their children more than an elementary school education. As Don Lucho, father of ten exclaimed: "Tan pronto que lleguen al octavo - fuera!" (As soon as they reach the eighth grade - out!) His oldest daughter had been in high school when she ran off to live with a man without her parent's permission. This experience had obviously convinced Don Lucho that too much education made children difficult to control and with ten of them, a primary school education was all he thought he could afford.

However, most of the Puerto Rican poor do not seem to fear that more education and higher social status will alienate the children from their parents. This fear is based on the supposition that parental authority depends on the parent's socio-economic status in the community and on how much he is able to offer the child in terms of material possessions and other status indicators. Parental superiority is thus a temporary advantage which children may overcome as soon as they are old enough to earn their own living and to establish an independent status in the community. In the Puerto Rican culture, however, respeto is a lasting relationship between parents and children and is based on the deference which the young are expected to show any member of the adult generation. Parents are not expected to prove their superiority over their children; respeto is inherent in the parent-child relationship.

The situation is similar to that which Friedl describes for rural Greece, where kin ties are maintained despite differences in class positions and shifts to urban residence, (Friedl 1959: 31). As in Greece, the maintenance of kin and friendship ties between persons of different social status helps to bridge the gap between the classes in Puerto Rican society. Former residents of the shanty town frequently returned to visit friends and neighbors after they had moved into better neighborhoods in other parts of the city. Now that Los Peloteros has been cleared for urban renewal, and families have been dispersed all over the city, they continue to visit each other and keep informed of each other's welfare. Kin and friendship ties probably do more than any other institution to break down the social isolation of the Puerto Rican poor. They do so more effectively than formal institutions such as churches, schools, political parties and labor unions, which we shall see often serve to reinforce the isolation of the poor from the larger society. We shall look at the importance of primary group relationships in the shanty town in the next section.

Relatives, Neighbors and Friends

The solidarity of the shanty town community serves a very important function for the newly arrived urban migrant and even older low-income residents of the modern metropolis. The shanty town serves as a stable setting within which migrants may gradually adapt to the new way of life in the city. While they live in San Juan and work at urban jobs, life in Los Peloteros retains strong folk-like characteristics emphasizing primary group ties.

The first place of settlement for most newly arrived lower-class rural migrants is the shanty town, from which they are gradually absorbed into other areas of the city. In this movement also, can be seen the interconnections between the shanty town and the wider metropolitan community. Despite this constant turnover of personnel, however, there is a core of "old-timers" made up of some of the original settlers of the shanty town that contributes greatly to neighborhood stability. They form a stable nucleus to whom new migrants can attach themselves and provide an important source of leadership and continutiy to the community. Don Andrés, who is President of the Housing Cooperative in Los Peloteros, has lived in the neighborhood for twenty years and his wife for thirty. He is steadily employed as an electrician at the docks, where he is secretary of his labor union. He also has his own electrical business on the side. All of his children have been born in Los Peloteros, and all are receiving at least a high school education. One son plans to become a lawyer. Thus, long-time residents are not necessarily the least progressive for, as we have pointed out, there is considerable room for upward mobility within the shanty town.

Newcomers to the shanty town often settle near a relative who helps them adjust to urban life. Frequently the relative will have found a home for the migrants before their arrival and sent for them to come. He assists them in finding employment, shows them where to shop, and takes them to the hospital. The house of one old couple in Los Peloteros was surrounded by the houses of their children and grandchildren, copying the same settlement pattern to which they had been accustomed in the rural area.

Kinship provides an important link between residents in the shanty town. Over half of the Peloterẽnos was surrounded by the houses of their children and grandchildren, copying the same settlement pattern to which they had been accustomed in the rural area.

Kinship provides important links between residents in the shanty town. Over half of the Peloterẽnos in our sample had relatives living in the neighborhood and they generally see each other daily. (Table 12). Though they may not occupy the same dwelling unit, such a kin group is often a tightly-knit functional unit, cooperating extensively in the care of children and other household tasks. Thus Doña Ana's niece was a frequent visitor to her aunt's house and her children were often left there for days at a time. Shortly before the birth of her third child, the niece moved into a house across the street so that she would be close to her aunt. Doña Ana assisted during the delivery, which took place in her home, and took care of her niece and children till the young mother was able to resume her household duties.

Relatives are particularly important to women for bonds of kinship are emphasized in the maternal line. Though they associate extensively with their neighbors, women often remark that their only real friends are relatives - usually other females such as a mother, sister, or daughter. Children come to know their mother's relatives far better than those of their father, simply because they see more of the former. The bond to the maternal grandmother may be particularly strong, reflecting her dominant position in the kin group.

Effective social contact is generally restricted to relatives living in the same or nearby neighborhoods. Visiting with nearby relatives is a favorite Sunday pastime, particularly among women, who usually take their younger children with them. Even when men are present, there is little mixed conversation. A group of women gather in the kitchen or the bedroom to talk over family gossip or admire a new household appliance, while the men remain in the living room, discussing incidents at work or the latest political news. Most social life is centered in the home, as the following quotation from my field notes illustrates:

> "The barrio was very much alive when we returned about six, with visits in every house. Carmen's mother was there, and a friend with a teen-age girl. The nurse's husband lay on the porch playing with his child, until his mother came to take her in. Don Francisco talked to a male friend in his living room. Lorenzo was drinking with two or three friends in his house. Children of all ages played together in the street."

Blood ties between neighbors in the shanty town are amplified by ties of marriage. There is no stated preference for endogamy, but marriage between members of the local neighborhood seems to be fairly frequent as a natural consequence of limited contact with the outside world. The social life of girls in particular is largely confined to the shanty town. Two teen-age sisters in Los Peloteros were severely criticized by their neighbors because their mother allowed them to go unchaperoned to dances in Barrio Obrero until late hours of the night. Their mother lived alone with the children of two consensual unions, and it was generally assumed the girls would end up the same way.

Many *compadres* are also chosen from among immediate neighbors, (Table 13). *Compadrazgo* is a ritual kin tie important in Latin America because it establishes a bond between the baptismal godparents of the child and his real parents; thus *compadrazgo* serves very often to incorporate neighbors and close friends into the kinship system. The choice of neighbors as *compadres* in Los Peloteros hence reinforces already existing neighborhood ties.

Ties of kinship, marriage and *compadrazgo* also integrate a neighborhood indirectly since they provide an additional point of contact among unrelated people as well. For example, Pedro does not only know Uncle Juan in the next block, but also Luis, who is Juan's next door neighbor. Thus, Pelotereños live in what Bott has termed a "highly connected network" of relatives, neighbors and friends, (Bott, 1956:...29-68). This leads to a closely integrated neighborhood with a strong sense of group identity and consciousness.

Los Peloteros is a very friendly neighborhood. Almost everyone in the shanty town knows everyone else and the outsider is spotted immediately. Even men tend to find most of their friends in the immediate neighborhood (Table 14) and spend much of their leisure time in a local *cafetín* or bar. The same crowd of men commonly congregates in a favorite locale nightly to drink, gab, listen to the jukebox, or play a game of dominoes. The proprietor often becomes one of the "gang" and it pays to be his friend, since he may be called upon to extend credit when cash is low.

Stores are a favorite meeting place for people of all ages in the shanty town. Like the *cafetines*, the small *tiendas* and *ventorrillos* in Los Peloteros usually serve a rather steady clientele drawn from the immediate vicinity. Customers who stop to talk as they shop are customarily neighbors for whom this functions merely as an additional point of contact.

Shopkeepers often become leaders in the shanty town community because they are usually old-time residents, they have somewhat higher and more stable incomes than wage earners and many families depend on them for credit.

However, the shanty town is characterized by a dispersed and fluid form of leadership rather than a hardened elite. There is no central authority in the shanty town community, or even a central point at which people may gather such as the plaza in the Puerto Rican rural town. The integration of the community, instead of being based on a hierarchy of established authority, is built up through a series of small, overlapping segmentary groups, each of which is composed of perhaps a half-dozen neighbors. Contact between the groups is maintained by persons who are members of more than one group, because of close friends, *compadres*, or relatives living in other parts of the neighborhood. These persons thus serve as connecting links through which the more extensive associations of kinship and friendship operate to build up an overall neighborhood unity.

Cooperation is most evident in times of crisis. We have already referred to the help given by female relatives or neighbors at the birth of a child and to patterns of mutual aid. Crises like fire enlist the aid of all able-bodied men in the neighborhood. Neighbors know that a fire can spread rapidly in the wooden, tightly-packed houses of the shanty town and are quick to form bucket brigades to help extinguish it. Fires are often brought under control long before the fire trucks arrive, particularly in areas difficult to reach near the Channel.

Social control in the shanty town rests not so much on outside authority as with the neighbors themselves. The highly connected network of relatives, neighbors and friends permits no deed to go unnoticed, and deviant behavior reflects not only on the person himself, but on his family and friends as well. Responsibility for the regulation of neighborhood affairs rests largely with the men. For example, men may attempt to end a fight between neighbors or to tell a drunkard to do his drinking elsewhere, while women are hesitant to intervene in non-family affairs. The previously mentioned barrio committees to improve conditions in the shanty town are also made up largely of men.

The highly personal nature of relationships within the shanty town contrast sharply with the impersonal relationships with other classes in the metropolis. We have noted that friendship, marriage and compadrazgo rarely cross class lines. The social life of shanty town families is largely confined to the immediate neighborhood and the bars and stores of Los Peloteros draw almost exclusively on a local clientele. The more important life crisis ceremonies such as weddings and baptisms are confined largely to the immediate network of relatives, neighbors and friends and seldom include persons from other socio-economic levels. Most transactions with persons of higher status are impersonal and leave the urban poor in a subservient position, as a customer in a store, a worker in a factory, or a patient in a clinic, dependent upon others "...who own the instruments of production, provide the work opportunities and sell the commodities to be bought." (Mintz 1956:...141).

By contrast, relationships between members of the urban proletariat are reciprocal, personal and largely non-utilitarian. Primary group ties have not been replaced by secondary associations, as Wirth postulated in his classic article on urbanism as a way of life (Wirth 1938:...12). On the contrary, the only secondary associations in the shanty town are based on already existing primary group bonds. The Pelotereño is incorporated in a highly connected network of relatives, neighbors and friends, which shields him from the impersonal outside world and which becomes his primary reference group.

Participation in Formal Institutions and Informal Associations

Pelotereños are marginal participants in urban society. Certainly they make use of the institutions and services found in the wider metropolitan community. They attend its churches and schools, and belong to political parties and labor unions. But these institutions rarely serve as avenues of mobility for low-income groups. Active participation is limited largely to people of higher socio-economic status. The poor rarely exercise leadership roles in these institutions and are primarily passive recipients of goods and services passed down from above. Even where local schools, churches or political parties are established in low-income neighborhoods to serve the needs of the poor, they rerely bring the poor into contact with people from other class levels.

The great majority of Puerto Ricans are nominally Roman Catholic and this includes most of the lower class. Catholics from Los Peloteros generally attend Mass at a nearby Church in Santurce. However, they are unlikely to meet people from other class groups in the formal setting of public worship where the only contact is sitting in the same pew or kneeling at the same alter. However, even thi is unlikely to happen since the poor usually attend earlier Masses than those favored by more affluent families. The poor seldom participate in the social or educational activities sponsored by the Church, except for a local branch of the Young Catholic Workers which meets in the shanty town. Children attend church somewhat more regularly than their parents, but half of the adult men in Los Peloteros reported they never go to church (Table 15).

The minority of Protestants seem far more fervent in their religious devotion, since they are largely converts. Seventh Day Adventists, for example, refuse adamantly to do any work or conduct any business on Saturday, their sabbath. One family of Seventh Day Adventists regularly held services in their home for neighborhood families. Another Pentecostal woman organized a Bible School in her home on Sunday afternoons and several Catholic children in the neighborhood attended. Parents seemed to feel that no religious instruction, even if it be of a different faith, could do the children any harm. The weakness of religious faith among the Puerto Rican poor and the tolerance of different denominations prevents religion from acting either as a unifying or a divisive force in the community. The tremendous growth of the Pentecostal movement in Puerto Rico in recent years as well as other sect movements among the poor (Cook. 1965: 20-36) may give the low-income group a new point of identification and serve as springboard for various forms of inter-neighborhood cooperation, but these movements rarely cross class lines.

Politics is a far more explosive and emotional issue in shanty town life than religion. Los Peloteros is dominated by the Popular Party which, under the able leadership of ex-Governor Munoz Marin, has won every election on the island since 1940. The local office of the Popular Party dominates the main entrance to the shanty town and is headed by a *compromisario or ward boss*, appointed by the Mayoress. Doña Felisa, the Mayoress, is the real political leader of the urban proletariat in San Juan, and the *compromisario* serves mainly as her agent or representative. He is not a leader in his own right nor does the local branch of the Party which he heads consist of a permanent, functioning membership. When called upon to do so by the Mayoress, the more enthusiastic Populares will board a caravan of cars headed for a show of party strength. Such demonstrations are particularly frequent in an election year, when political sentiments run strongest. But active support of the Party on the part of the rank and file is largely limited to these momentary outbursts of allegiance.

Like in the rural area (Mintz 1956: 394-99), politics is seen primarily as a set of reciprocal obligations between the party and the voter. Shanty town families justify their invasion of public land by displaying a Popular banner outside their house. The main job of the *compromisario* is to provide services for the party faithful - gravel for roads, lumber for the repair of homes, bail for the jailed - in exchange for votes on election day. Doña Felisa holds weekly "open houses" at which people may present their particular problem or request - and they may range from a faulty sewer to a need for public assistance because of a wayward husband. Though open to everyone, these sessions are naturally most popular among the poor, who utilize them to circumvent the red tape of government bureaucracy and secure preferential treatment. Thus, a person in need of medical services may be directed to the doctor in charge rather than being admitted through regular clinic channels.

The labor union movement in Puerto Rico is still relatively weak and fragmented, and many men in the shanty town reported no unions in their place of employment (Table 16). Each trade tends to form its own union and to resist merger or affiliations with others. The poor distrust impersonal and bureaucratic management and prefer small groups where face-to-face relations can still be maintained.

The weakness of the labor union mevement among workers in the shanty town is indicative of their lack of class consciousness. Though Pelotereños commonly refer to themselves as los pobres (the poor) and are conscious of similarities in socio-economic status, they do not see themselves as a separate social segment cut off from other class groups in the society. Their sense of group consciousness and cohesion does not extend beyond the boundaries of the immediate community. Aspirations for the future are always voiced in terms of individual or familial upward mobility rather than in terms of class solidarity. They are more concerned about the status differences among themselves and with improving their position in the shanty town community than with the status gaps between themselves and other class groups in the metropolis.

Despite the long-standing tradition of informal cooperation among neighbors and relatives, Pelotereños have little confidence in setups requiring a formal commitment on the part of a membership bound only by secondary association. It is assumed that outside the primary group, that is, outside the small circle of relatives, neighbors and friends, everyone is out for himself. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the housing cooperative established in the shanty town. The cooperative was started by the Puerto Rican government to interest Pelotereños ineligible for public housing in building a new neighborhood on land purchased by the government and to be sold to them at cost. Members of the cooperative were expected to use the compensation on their house in the shanty town as down payment for the new construction and to pay the remainder in installments on an F.H.A. mortgage.

Responsibility for the project shifted from one government agency to another, and the cost of housing rose from an original $3000 to around $5000. In protest against the endless delays and confusion, the cooperative sent petitions and telegrams to the Legislature and attempted to influence the local Representative in their favor, but all to no avail. Many families withdrew their membership, but those who remained did so primarily out of loyalty to the President of the cooperative, one of the old-timers in Los Peloteros and highly respected in the neighborhood. His patient efforts finally met with success because he and other Peletereño families are now living in a new development in the suburban metropolitan area.

The only clubs in Los Peloteros are both youth groups built around already existing primary group associations. The membership of the *Juventud Obrero Católico* or Catholic Worker Youth is made up largely of siblings and close neighborhood friends and appears to draw primarily upon the more upwardly mobile youth in the shanty town. Many of the girls are high school graduates and to them, membership in such an organization is a mark of middle-class respectability. The social activities sponsored by the club offers them one of the few opportunities to meet with boys of similar middle-class aspirations. The leader, a young man who heads another chapter in his own shanty town nearby, proudly announced that in the latter group, two marriages had already taken place.

Los Peloteros has its own baseball team in which several neighborhood boys as well as boys from nearby shanty towns participate. Uniforms have been donated by a local merchant and the name of the shanty town is inscribed in large letters on the backs of the players. Many of the players are friends who get together on other occasions as well.

Baseball is very popular among the poor in Puerto Rico, and ranges from small games with competing neighborhood teams to huge doubleheaders at the San Juan staduim. Many of the most famous players on professional teams are persons who rose from the ranks of the rural or urban poor. Thus baseball, like other forms of athletics, becomes a rapid means of acquiring fame and prestige for the boys from the shanty town, and is strongly identified as *their* game.

In the same way, the *fiesta patronal* or festival of the patron saint is seen primarily as a lower-class celebration. Peloterenos have no patron saint of their own but his place is taken by St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of San Juan. The eve of *San Juan Bautista* on June 23rd is probably the most important communal festivity for the urban poor, though any religious connections have become remote indeed. In keeping with the legend of St. John, it is considered good luck to bathe in the ocean on this night. People begin to flock to the beaches when the sun sets, and by midnight the most popular are packed solidly. Many families come with food and blankets, prepared to spend the whole night on the beach. Vendors set up their stands to sell *piraguas* (flavored ices), *chicharrones* (dried pieces of pig skin) and other cheap refreshments favored by the lower class. Crowds form around small *conjuntos* that spring up spontaneously from enthusiastic amateur musicians playing the latest hit tune. Groups of girls stroll up and down, *paseo* fashion, while boys stand on the sidelines to watch. This seems to be one occasion when open flirtation is allowed. Though all ages are represented, teen-age groups of boys and girls predominate.

People of higher social status may also celebrate the *fiesta patronal*, but primarily as onlookers. Some are afraid to go to the beaches favored by the lower class because it is clear that they are outsiders. Rumors circulate of sexual and other illicit activity that takes place there. Hence, people of higher social status usually confine themselves to parties at home or around the pool of one of the luxury hotels. In these parties, the *fiesta patronal* completely loses its flavor as a family festivity in which all ages participate. (Scheele 1956: 451).

For the upper classes, Carnival is a much more important community festivity. The status value of the festivity is emphasized at the elaborate ceremonies for the coronation of Carnival queens, held at one of the better hotels or private clubs, (Ibid.: 454). But the extent to which Carnival has fragmented as a genuine communal festivity is marked by the number of different queens selected, each by a different social club or professional organization. Lower class participation is limited to a superficial imitation of upper class patterns. For example, workers may elect a Reina de los Artesanos or Queen of the Artisans. In Carnival, it is the lower class that becomes the onlookers.

Thus, even in social activities, contact with other classes in the metropolis is minimal. Recreation follows the same segregated pattern of activity observable in other areas of lower-class life. We have seen that the clientele of the cafetines in Los Peloteros is drawn largely from the immediate neighborhood. In Barrio Obrero there are numerous other bars as well as movie theaters and dance halls frequented by people from the shanty town. Pelotereños rarely go to one of the more fashionable movie theaters in the center of Santruce. Nor would they think of patronizing a nightclub or cocktail lounge in one of the luxury hotels, although they may work as chambermaids, porters or waiters in these establishments. Price is only part of the explanation and serves primarily to mark off class distinctions. The urban poor follow a particular pattern of activity which sets them apart from other class groups in the metropolis and draws them closer to members of their own part-society.

Conclusion

The cohesion of the shanty town community clearly distinguishes it from the anomie normally thought to characterize urban neighborhoods. In his classic article on "urbanism as a way of life," Wirth has described the weakening of kinship and neighborhood bonds and the replacement of primary group ties with secondary associations which usually accompanies the urbanization process. In the urban community, according to Wirth, relationships are generally utilitarian and specialized, leading to widespread depersonalization and the growth of competition and formal control mechanisms. (Wirth 1938: 11-17).

Our description of the highly personal nature of life in the shanty town stands in sharp contrast to Wirth's analysis. In this Chapter we have attempted to identify some of the sources of this cohesion. Thus, one fact of obvious importance is that the shanty town was built up through the joint effort of newly arrived migrant families, struggling to establish a new home in the city and facing similar difficulties in their adjustment to the new urban milieu. Many of these families have lived in the area for a long time, so that despite the constant turnover of personnel in the shanty town, there is a core of "old-timers" to whom new migrants can attach themselves and through whom they become incorporated into the network of neighborhood relationships. Many of the formal and informal leaders of the shanty town are drawn from this core of old-timers, such as the compromisario or ward boss or the president of the local housing cooperative. Bonds of kinship, friendship and compadrazgo unite the shanty town, which is the center of social life for men and women alike. In Los Peloteros, there are many small, intimate meeting places such as stores or bars scattered throughout the neighborhood, where neighbors and friends may get together and exchange the latest gossip or news. The pattern of sharing and cooperation draws neighbors together in common endeavors and concerns and reduces the impact of socio-economic differences among families in the shanty town. The visibility of neighbors in the shanty town, promoted by the single family dwellings with their open windows and porches, also leads to greater sociability than is typically found in the more enclosed setting of apartment houses.

Not all urban neighborhoods are characterized by the highly connected network of relatives, neighbors and friends found in Los Peloteros. According to Bott (Bott 1956: 64) highly connected networks are usually associated with neighborhoods strengthened by bonds of kinship, continuity of residence, and a fairly homogeneous social structure. These requirements are more easily met in long-established lower class neighborhoods such as Los Peloteros than in modern middle class suburbs or new public housing projects. In the following chapter, I shall compare the shanty town with a public housing project in the San Juan Metropolitan Area. The comparison will be brief because the basic culture patterns of the Puerto Rican urban poor remain the same. However, in the process of relocation, old kin and neighborhood ties have been broken. As a result, the project population lacks much of the stability and cohesion found in the shanty town.

Chapter III

PUBLIC HOUSING IN PUERTO RICO

The Government of Puerto Rico undertook to sponsor a study of public housing because it was conscious of some very real difficulties in its effort to relocate families from shanty towns into public housing projects. Many families refused to move into public housing and preferred to relocate in another slum area. Tenants appeared to take no pride in their new neighborhood and left the maintenance of buildings and grounds entirely up to project management. Families often failed to pay their rent and would leave the apartment before back payments could be collected. The high incidence of juvenile delinquency, vandalism and gang fights among the youth alarmed many people, and made shanty town residents even more reluctant to move their children into such environments.

There are many who assert that these problems are merely carry-overs of social disorganization developed in the shanty town. They assume that poor families simply "don't know any better" because they have never lived in decent housing. Physical and moral degradation are equated. Yet we have seen that despite adverse physical conditions, life in the shanty town is characterized by a strong esprit de corps and identification with the local community. Pelotereños have managed to create a stable, coherent way of life despite their position at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. What happens when they move into public housing?

The Setting of Public Housing

El Capitán, the project, and Los Peloteros, the shanty town, are totally different types of neighborhoods. Narrow twisting alleyways have been replaced by broad, paved streets. Flimsily constructed shacks have been replaced by three and four storey long concrete buildings, separated by stretches of green lawn traversed by pedestrian walks. The lawns provide additional play areas for the children, concrete benches where people may sit and talk, and communal enclosures for drying of clothes and garbage disposal.

The size of the housing project and its architectural design help to isolate it from the surrounding community. El Capitán consists of 140 buildings housing 2610 families and covering several city blocks. The neighborhood surrounding the project is largely upper middle class, including many "continentals" or people from the mainland. Their style of life is so different that relationships between the two groups are usually impersonal if not hostile. Contact between the project and the older working-class neighborhood on its southern border is effectively cut off by a major six-lane highway dividing the two neighborhoods.

Most public housing in Puerto Rico is built with the aid of Federal funds and follows mainland standards of design and layout. All of the buildings in El Capitán are of the same rectangular design and are laid out in linear fashion following a carefully conceived, orderly plan. Communication among neighbors is difficult in these buildings because they fail to recreate the small neighborhood groupings found in the shanty town. There tends to be more conversation across the lawn between neighbors in buildings facing each other than between neighbors at opposite ends of the same building. The emphasis is on maximum use of space rather than on building up neighborhood unity through small clusters of population in which effective face-to-face communication could be maintained.

Architects have tried to make up for the lack of neighborhood unity in building design through the provision of community facilites. While Peloterenos must leave the shanty town to seek most essential services, project residents can meet many of their needs within the local community. The commercial center located at the fringe of the project includes food stores, variety shops, a pharmacy, a barbershop, a bar, a dairy bar, a shoe repair shop, a dry cleaner, and a laundromat. A modern supermarket and large public park are located immediately across from the project and are used chiefly by project residents. El Capitán is also equipped with a health center and medical dispensary, two nurseries, a milk station, a breakfast center for pre-school children, a library, an elementary school and a junior high school. Adults may attend night classes at the school in literacy and primary grades. A home economics class for women meets in one of the apartments. For recreation, the project is equipped with baseball, softball, basketball and volleyball courts and the beach is just a few blocks away. The community center offers numerous club activities every night of the week and church services of different denominations are held every Sunday.

None of these facilites are shared by residents of the surrounding neighborhood, since most of them cater especially to the needs of the project population. Even the public beach and park located outside the project are shunned by neighborhood residents who resent and fear this lower class element in their midst. Likewise the supermarket across the street from the project caters to lower class tastes and buying patterns and is seldom frequented by middle class patrons. Thus the provision of community facilities fails to integrate the project population with residents of the surrounding neighborhood because the needs and tastes of these two widely divergent socio-economic groups are so different.

Community facilities also fail to integrate families within the project. Stores, for example, are all located at one end of the project instead of being dispersed throughout the neighborhood as in the shanty town. Tenants who shop there are not necessarily known to each other from the neighborhood. Illegal businesses selling a variety of basic food products in trucks called ambulantes have sprung up throughout the project community. In a sense, they fill a gap left by the lack of the shanty town tienda or cafetín. Like the latter, ambulantes are scattered throughout the neighborhood and serve a steady clientele. Here people may buy small quantities and on credit, which is not permitted at the supermarket. However, since these ambulantes are located outdoors, and offer no shade or seating place, they do not induce customers to linger as the stores in the shanty town.

The community center is too large and impersonal to serve as a meeting place for informal groups in the project population. Despite the impressive list of activities offered at the center, most groups revolve around a minority of enthusiasts while popular participation remains low. Thus, over half the project adults interviewed have never attended a single activity at the community center and only one-fourth of the adolescents indicate any frequency of attendance. (Table 17). Meetings have to be scheduled ahead of time and rooms reserved for an appointed time. For example, there is a Domino Club for men which meets every Wednesday night at 8 p.m., but most men would prefer to simply set up a card table at home or out on the lawn whenever they feel like it.

The formality and adherence to North American models contributes to the unpopularity of activities at the community center. Meetings of the Boy Scouts, for example, close with an oath recited in English. They are shown films in which a father takes his son and a group of young boys on a camping trip, a role totally alien to the typical Puerto Rican father. A lecture on child care at the public health center was devoted entirely to formulas with no mention made of breast feeding, still a tradition in Puerto Rican culture, especially among the poor. The strict schedule in the project nursery school contrasts sharply with the permissive child-rearing practices characteristic of Puerto Rican families: there is a certain time for eating, a certain time for sleeping and a certain time for playing. The two- and three-year olds are put in a room apart from the four- and five-year olds, while Puerto Ricans would consider separation of the sexes far more important.

However, the marked improvement in physical conditions has had a noticeable impact on the health of the project population. Compared to Peletereño children, project children show a much lower incidence of illnesses such as diarrhea, pneumonia, anemia and internal parasites, (Table 18) afflictions which are normally associated with poor sanitation and other bad living conditions. The latrine has been replaced by a modern bathroom with flush toilet and shower. The kitchen is equipped with a sink, cabinets and a two-burner electric hot plate in place of the kerosene stove used by most Peletereños. Eighty percent of the project residents interviewed own a refrigerator, which must be bought by tenants themselves.

In general, project apartments have more appliances and better furnishings than all but the best houses in the shanty town. Almost twice as many of the project residents interviewed own a radio, refrigerator and television set compared to the shanty town sample. (Table 19). Almost 90 percent of the families in the project sample own complete living room sets, while one-quarter of the families in the shanty town sample own no living room furniture at all. Even if we hold income constant, the number of items owned is still higher in El Capitán than in Los Peleteros. Evidently project residents, provided with better living conditions, make a greater effort to furnish their homes than do Peletereños.

However, project residents also depend more upon furnishings to symbolize status differences. All project apartments are identical in design except for the number of bedrooms, which ranges from one to four. Therefore the apartment can no longer symbolize the economic status of the family as does the house in the shanty town. The drive for identity and individuality in public housing is transferred from the house to household furnishings and appliances. Families will sacrifice on basic necessities such as food and clothing in order to buy a new television set or sofa. For example, the living room of one project family that depended almost entirely on public welfare was bare of all furniture except two folding chairs and a brand new hi-fi set purchased on the installment plan.

The greater emphasis on household furnishings and other items of conspicuous consumption in El Capitán reflects the growing status consciousness of project residents. Tenants are surrounded by clearly visible symbols of the tremendous social gap between the project and the upper middle class neighborhood in which it is located. They are urged by project management to live up to middle-class models which are often beyond their reach economically and alien to them culturally. Above all, they have lost the security of the small face-to-face groups through which the Peloterenño achieves a status position in the local community. The project resident is more exposed than the shanty town family to the stigma of living in a lower class community.

Socio-economic and Cultural Composition

Both socio-economically and culturally, the project population is much more homogeneous than that of the shanty town. The wide variations in standards of living, income and salaries found in Los Peloteros are sharply reduced. The subcultural diversity of the Peloterenos, constantly renewed by the influx of new migrants, is replaced by an older urban group which has cut most ties with the rural area. Uniformity is imposed by the selection and regulatory policies of public housing which have created a new type of urban community.

Requirements for admission to the project are fixed by the Federal government, and are based chiefly on the need for housing and on income. Because of the tremendous shortage of public housing in Puerto Rico, top priority is given those families living in older, cleared shanty towns, the inhabitants of which were among the first migrants to the metropolitan area. Many of the residents of El Capitán came from an old shanty town devastated by fire, and in the rush to relocate these families they were housed in the new project.

As in the shanty town, the highest percentage of project residents arrived in the metropolitan area in the peak migration years from 1930 to 1950. (Table 20). However, many adults in the project, especially among the men, migrated to the city prior to this period and about one-fifth were born in the metropolitan area. (Table 21). Contrary to Peleterenños, these older urban residents no longer cling to rural customs or look back nostalgically to rural life. Most project residents have ceased to identify with the rural area and see their future inextricably linked to the metropolis.

Income requirements for admission to public housing limit selection to the lowest socio-economic segment of the shanty town community. Thus, for families of four or more persons, which consitute the overwhelming majority of project residents, the maximum net income for admission in 1960 was $1700. Income limits are raised slightly after the family enters public housing, but only five families in the project sample have incomes over $3000 yearly, compared to three times this number in the shanty town sample. (Table 6). At the same time, there is a higher concentration of project families in the lowest income group; 35 families in the sample from El Capitán have annual incomes under $1000 compared to 24 in the sample from Los Peleteros. The concentration of families from the lower socio-economic segment of the shanty town can also be seen in the high proportion of renters who enter public housing. While most homes in the shanty town are owner-occupied, only 44 percent of the project sample owned a house prior to moving into public housing.

As in the shanty town, income is intimately related to the number of persons working in the household. In all but one case, project families with annual incomes over $3000 have more than one person working in the household. (Table 7). However, only 12 families from the project sample can count on more than one salary compared to 34 families in the shanty town sample (Table 7). This may be due partly to differences in household composition. Project regulations regarding household composition discourage the addition of working adults to the household, whereas these persons contribute significantly to family income in the shanty town. Thus, there are fewer project households in which a relative of the head of household or of his spouse is a resident and contributing to the family income. In addition, the number of women reporting employment in the project is lower in the project than in the shanty town. (Project regulations also discourage women from reporting employment as we shall note later). As a result, compared to Peletereño households, the number of persons with earning capacity in the project household decreases, while the number of dependents remains the same or may even increase. Thus, the project family's earning power is reduced as the burden of support falls in most cases on a single breadwinner.

The rate of unemployment among male heads of households is also higher in public housing than in the shanty town. (Table 22). Some of these men are permanently disabled or too old to work. Thus, one of my informants in El Capitán suffered from ulcers and had not worked for years. He had been employed by the government on road construction for 38 years but received no pension because he was not in civil service. He and his family of four children relied primarily on a monthly welfare payment of $32. His wife made a little extra cash as an Espiritista (Spritualist medium), but her reputation was too dubious to draw much of a clientele. Understandably they complained even of a minimal rent of $4.50 monthly.

Many fatherless families are recruited for public housing because their choice of alternative private housing is very limited. The number of households headed by females increases from 20 in Los Peleteros to 35 in El Capitán. (Table 23). Since there is no male breadwinner, these families are often totally dependent on public welfare and annual incomes frequently fall under $1000. Thus, Luis Lopez left for the mainland six years ago and his family has never heard from him since. The youngest of nine children was then only an infant and Luis' wife, Esmeralda, has struggled desperately to keep her large family together. She was very happy when the family were moved into El Capitán four years ago, because she has a much nicer apartment than they could possibly afford outside. The family depends largely on public welfare and occasionally Esmeralda takes in some laundry. But she is unable to do much because of a bad case of ulcerated varicose veins, which have left her almost crippled.

Project regulations often discourage tenants from increasing their earning capacity. Increases in income are penalized by raises in rent, and if families pass beyond a certain income level, they are evicted. Many families prefer to deliberately restrict their earnings in order to stay within the income limits. Women are less likely to have a steady job than women in Los Peloteros and many prefer temporary employment or subsidiary economic activities which can be hidden from project management--and public welfare. When forced by economic necessity, project women can always secure employment as domestics in the upper class homes nearby. But they rarely stay at one job very long, for fear of being discovered by project management. Subsidiary economic activities are easier to hide. For example, one woman collects garbage from the neighbors and sells it to a man who raises pigs. Another prepares fiambres or hot lunches served in metal containers to sell to workers in the vicinity. Three elderly sisters living together openly admitted that they spend Sundays in San Juan begging for public charity. However, the number and type of subsidiary economic activities in public housing is restricted by project regulations which forbid the use of the apartment for commercial purposes. Thus, the only bar in El Capitán was run by one of the local compromisarios or ward bosses of the Popular Party, who had undoubtedly used his political influence to secure this lucrative trade.

There are some upwardly mobile families in El Capitán. A good number of project adults have gone to high school, especially among the men. (Table 9). They are working at clerical jobs which are virtually unrepresented in the shanty town. (Table 4). These office jobs do not generally require a high educational level, but they pay well and they offer a degree of security and prestige lacking in most blue-collar work. Thus, Josefina's brother Carmelo has a good job as a construction worker, but he hopes to take the exam for a high school diploma and enter the police force. His wife is a high school graduate, but never worked because they were married shortly after her graduation and now have three children. She would like to be a beautician and Carmelo plans to send her to school when the children are older. They don't like living in the project and plan to move to a urbanización as soon as possible. Compared to the shanty town, a much higher percentage of project adults plan to move into an urbanización--Puerto Rico's version of suburbia. (Table 24).

Because these upwardly mobile families fail to identify with the project community, they cannot exert the leadership which the core of old-timers provided in the shanty town. Anyone who makes it moves out, and the stimulus provided by the range of socio-economic levels found in the shanty town is lacking in public housing. Leadership is never given a chance to form, and project management is left with a dependent population of fatherless families, aged, and other disadvantaged who remain in public housing because they have nowhere else to go. These families tend to look to project management to provide the leadership and direction lacking in their own community.

Interpersonal Relations

Project residents have left the secure setting of the shanty town with its tightly-knit network of relatives, neighbors and friends. Relocation in public housing exposes them to formal control mechanisms unknown in the shanty town.

Certain patterns of cooperation persist in the project because people are poor and emergencies arise in which they have to help each other. There is less sharing of utilities and household effects than in the shanty town, since few project families are without these basic necessities. But food is still prepared for a sick neighbor and female friends are on hand to assist the family during childbirth. Children habitually gather in a neighbor's apartment to watch television, while women borrow and exchange novelas (cheap, paperback novels). But project men have lost one of the main avenues of cooperation open to Pelstereños, the repair and maintenance of their homes. Project residents are forbidden to put a nail into the wall without management's approval. A leaky faucet, a jammed door, or a broken blind must all be reported to the main office. This kind of supervision can be of great assistance to fatherless families where there is no one to perform these tasks, but not to the man who may see it as a threat to his authority in the household.

Social control in El Capitan has also passed into the hands of project management. Since public housing belongs to the government, most men feel it is up to management or the police to settle disputes between neighbors (Table 25) or to punish a delinquent youth. As one man in the project commented: "Aquí todo es publico y uno no puede mandar en nada." (Here everything is public and one has no authority in anything). Bitter disputes between neighbors in the project are common, and often involve a question of jurisdiction or responsibility. Thus, arguments frequently occur over the cleaning of the stairways, which serve six to eight apartments each. Each resident feels it is his neighbor's responsibility and most would prefer to leave it to project management.

There is a small group of men who work closely with management and use its support to win positions of authority for themselves within the project community. They are usually appointed by management to head all sorts of community activities and may even be given jobs on the maintenance crew, or as janitors, etc. But since their authority depends on the support of management, these men fail to provide any leadership among project residents, most of whom prefer to let project management make the decisions.

The most upwardly mobile families frequently strive to disassociate themselves from the project community. They consider themselves above their neighbors and prefer to associate with people of higher status such as white-collar workers or even professionals. (Table 26). Many men claim not to have a single friend living in the project (Table 14). Complaining of the isolation, one man exclaimed: "*Aqui se muere uno y no hay quien le haga un favor. No hay hermandad, ni buenos vecinos.*" (One can die here and no one would do you a favor. There's no brotherhood or good neighbors). Another man, referring to the difficulty in making friends in the project, remarked: "*Como no abren la puerta uno no puede ni hablar.*" (Since they don't open the door, one can't even talk). For men in particular, the highly localized network of social relations in the shanty town has been replaced by a looser association of friends and relatives scattered over the entire metropolitan area.

There is little to hold the project resident in his neighborhood. Most of his friends and relatives live in other parts of the city (Table 12). He doesn't know his neighbors very long and tends to regard them with suspicion and mistrust. Men do not even have a place to get together in the project. The local *cafetíns* and pool parlor have been eliminated, and as in the shanty town, the home is not used for exclusively male reunions. The community center doesn't attract them because it is not set up for informal meetings between friends who just want to chat awhile.

Women in the project do not appear to suffer from isolation as much as men do. A good number of women in El Capitán still find most of their friends in the immediate community. (Table 14). Women more easily re-establish close relationships with neighbors since they are home most of the day and continue to engage in extensive patterns of mutual aid. They meet other women as they shop, hang out the laundry, or attend a baby contest in the community center. Many of the activities in public housing are directed at women or children: child care services, recreational programs, public health lectures on pre-natal care, etc. This adds to the man's sense of isolation and lack of recognition in the project community.

Management becomes the chief target of opposition in the project and is blamed for everything that goes wrong. By its paternalistic policy of catering to every need of the resident, management has produced a community ". . . incapable of responsibility, expectant of unlimited care, resentful that all demands are not met. . .and resentful also because of its own lack of independence." (Wallace 1952: 57).

Resentment on the part of project residents is reflected in increasing dissatisfaction with the Popular Party, the government now in power. Compared to Los Peloteros, there is a marked increase in the number of *Estadistas*, statehood sympathizers in El Capitán, particularly among the men. (Table 28). Their vote is a protest against the policies of the Popular Party, which in their eyes is closely identified with project management. *Estadistas* complain of raises in rent, water bills, and bus fares, all of which is blamed on the government. One man denounced

Public housing as merely an exploitation of the poor by the government, while yet another objected to the fact that families can never own their apartments.[1]

Unlike Peletereños, many project residents are not content with the benefits which the poor have derived from the present government. They are more conscious of their low status in society and anxious for change. Their vote for the opposition Statehood party is an attempt to pressure the government into extending and increasing the benefits of the modern welfare state. For example, one Statehood sympathizer felt that if Puerto Rico became a state, then welfare payments would equal those paid in New York.

Among project residents, one can sense the emergence of a new class consciousness not evident in the shanty town. For Pelstereños, as we have seen, the primary reference group is still the local community. They have remained apart from the full stream of urban life and retained a distinctive, folk way of life in a tightly-knit urban neighborhood. Project residents, on the other hand, have been uprooted from the small, local community ahd have failed to establish a new sense of identity in public housing. Kin and neighborhood ties have been weakened and project residents look increasingly toward a larger, class reference group for support.

Conclusions

Relocation in public housing does not foster upward mobility among the Puerto Rican poor. It succeeds in dislodging them from their old neighborhood settings but it does not integrate them into the larger urban community. The project is just as isolated as the shanty town from other class groups in the metropolis--perhaps more so. Project residents have little contact with residents of the surrounding upper middle class neighborhood. The institutions in which they participate still cater largely to the needs of the poor and fail to draw in people of higher status levels. The activities at the community center are a notable example; though markedly middle class in orientation, these activities are designed exclusively for project residents and the only middle class people who participate are the professional staff. Most of these activities fail to enlist the support of the project population anyway.

The lack of autonomy and cohesion of the project community is particularly painful for the men. The prestige positions open to men in the shanty town are largely closed to project residents. Men cannot serve on barrio committees or help a neighbor repair his house. Social control has passed into the hands of project management or the police, and project residents feel they have no authority over their neighbors. Thus, the internal status system which permitted Peletereños to retain a status in the local community different from that in the larger society has been lost in public housing. Project residents experience only the low status conferred upon them by the larger society.

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[1] The Commonwealth Government has instituted a plan in some of the older projects whereby families can buy their apartments and take over their own maintenance.

Project residents, particularly men, suffer from greater alienation than shanty town families, who at least retain meaningful relationships within the immediate community. There is no buffer between project residents and the wider urban community, no refuge to which they may withdraw and in which they are recognized and respected. The result is increased awareness of the gaps dividing them from other classes in the society and increased resentment at their subjugation to a marginal social status.

However, project residents still define their status in Puerto Rican society largely in class terms. Project residents feel they have been exploited as members of a low status group and have been deprived of the socio-economic benefits which other classes enjoy. But their lack of equality is not based on race, religion or any other ascriptive criterion, as among Negroes in the United States. The racial barriers isolating Negroes from American society must be sharply distinguished from the class barriers facing Puerto Ricans. We shall analyze the impact of racial barriers upon the assimilation of the American Negro in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

THE NEGRO GHETTO

The Great Migration of American Negroes from the rural South to the urban North began during World War I, continued more slowly during the depression, and reached its peak during World War II. According to Myrdal (Myrdal (Rose) 1964: 63), the proportion of all Negroes living in the North and West rose from 10.4 percent in 1910 to 23.8 percent in 1940, while in 1960, it had risen to over 40 percent. (1960 Census of Population, Vol. I: Table 56). Most of the earlier movement was to the larger Northern industrial cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and to a lesser extent, New York, but in the period since 1940, the trend of migration has turned more towards the growing metropoli of the West and the smaller cities of the North.

In the medium-sized city of upper New York State, where this study was conducted, the rate of growth of the Negro population has been among the most rapid in the state and even in the country as a whole. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population of this city increased from 5,058 persons to 12,251 persons or an increase of 144 percent. (Campbell 1964: 1-2). As in other cities to which Negroes have migrated, this growth was concentrated in a ghetto-like slum area directly adjacent to the heart of the downtown business district, while the higher income, white population moved out to the suburbs. It is the style of life in this Negro ghetto with which this chapter is primarily concerned.

We propose to examine the style of life in the Negro ghetto of the urban North and compare it with our previous descriptions of life in a shanty town and public housing project in Puerto Rico. It is hoped that by comparing three types of urban lower-class neighborhoods in two different societies we may learn more about cross-cultural variants of community life among the urban poor. Our primary concern in this chapter will be to examine the impact of race on the processes of social mobility and assimilation of the urban poor into the larger society.

Most of our data are drawn from a public housing project located in the heart of the Negro ghetto and in which our observer, a young Negro woman and her family, lived for over one year. In the last chapter we pointed out the impact which public housing may have on the character of low-income neighborhood life owing to the selection and regulatory policies of project management. The specially selected nature of the project population means that we must be extremely careful in attempting to apply generalizations derived from the project population to the Negro ghetto as a whole. However, this study differs from the Puerto Rican data in that there is little to suggest that a marked distinction is made between residents of the project and of the surrounding ghetto. Both neighborhoods are composed almost exclusively of Negro lower-class populations that associate freely with one another and that appear to share essentially similar values and behavior patterns. In contrast with the Puerto Rican project, which was relatively new, Park Homes has been established for over twenty-five years and therefore has had a great deal of time to blend in with the surrounding neighborhood and lose the remote quality often associated with newer projects.

Caution must also be exercised in interpreting the results of the survey data collected in this study. Most of the data were analyzed by project and not by race, and have been presented here in this form.[1] While the overwhelming majority of Park residents are Negroes, particularly among young families with children, a few white families are also included in the Park sample. However, all the qualitative data on participant observation relates exclusively to Negro families.

The Ghetto Neighborhood

The Negro ghetto is located in the heart of the city, only a few blocks east of the central business district. The ghetto is a typical deteriorated neighborhood marked by overcrowding, poor upkeep and inadequate public services. Old frame houses have been converted into apartments housing several families, often with makeshift kitchens and no private bathrooms. The buildings, with sagging porches, broken steps, and dirty, dim-lit hallways, are sorely in need of paint and other repairs. Recently, many of the buildings have been vacated and are either boarded shut or being torn down as part of a massive urban renewal scheme to renovate the central business district. Families are being displaced to make way for a new thruway, middle-income housing, and a community plaza development. Meanwhile, the remaining families must bear with the noise of huge cranes and bulldozers, the ugly sight of muddy vacant lots, and streets filled with potholes and debris from the construction projects. The new elevated highway effectively cuts off any communication between the ghetto and the University area lying only a few blocks east.

While urban renewal has displaced families to other areas of the city, chiefly the south and west, the principal concentration of Negro remains in the area surrounding Park Homes. The racial composition of the project itself has shifted markedly, from 50 percent Negro in 1960 to 75 percent Negro in 1963 (Table 29). This rapid increase in the project reflects the overall increase in the Negro population of the city, due largely to migration from the south and other areas. Many of these recently arrived migrants are afraid to venture into white areas of the city and prefer to remain near friends and relatives in the ghetto. On the other hand, white families have been reluctant to move into the project because they would be so outnumbered by Negroes.[2]

Though now occupied predominantly by Negroes, many of them southern migrants, the project population has shifted with the racial composition of the surrounding neighborhood. The ghetto was formerly settled primarily by low-income Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, most of whom moved into better residential areas on the east side of the city as they progressed economically. A few elderly, white Jewish couples still reside in Park Homes, chiefly in the high-rise apartment buildings provided especially for the aged. However, they have little contact with the rest of the project population who differ so radically from them in both age and race.

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[1] Occasionally we have included data relating to the sample as a whole - that is, all four public housing projects in the city and their surrounding neighborhoods.

[2] The concentration of Negroes in Park project also reflects the reluctance of the Housing Authority to settle Negro families in other projects.

Some of the stores around Park Homes are still operated by Jewish merchants who formerly served a Jewish clientele, but shifted their goods to meet the demands of the new Negro population. Many of the food stores cater to southern palates, with items such as ham hocks, pork chitterlings, and dry beans. Numerous bars and pool halls in the area serve as favorite hangouts for adult men, who also congregate on street corners to meet friends and watch passersby. Most of these businesses are small, owner-operated stores which serve a strictly local clientele, many of whom depend on personal acquaintance with the shopkeeper for credit. The only supermarket in the area closed due to petty theft and other problems.

Stores, bars, pool halls and other commercial establishments are an important medium for bringing together residents of public housing and of the surrounding neighborhood. No businesses are located in the project and as in Puerto Rico, the apartments may not be used for commercial purposes. Thus, residents must leave the project to do their shopping or to seek services like a laundromat, a beauty salon, a drycleaners, etc. On the other hand, residents of the surrounding neighborhood may use recreational facilities provided in the project like the park and playground. The swimming pool in Park Homes is very popular among youngsters from the ghetto during the summer.

Educational institutions also help to draw together project and neighborhood residents. There is a nursery school in Park Homes operated by a private charity organization which is open to pre-school children of both neighborhoods. The elementary school for the area is located at one end of Park Homes, and is attended by project and non-project children. The junior high school located a few blocks away also serves primarily a ghetto population. Attempts have been made to desegregate these schools by bussing Negro children from the ghetto into white schools in other neighborhoods, but all attempts at bringing white children into the ghetto schools thusfar have been successfully resisted.

Numerous storefront churches abound in the area and occasionally itinerant preachers will hold open air services in the park at Park Homes. Negro families also attend a local Holiness and Baptist church in considerable numbers, but there is no church or clergy with large enough a congregation to unite the entire ghetto community. Contrary to the Southern rural community where the church was evidently the traditional center of community life, at least among the "respectables" (Hylan Lewis 1955) religious affiliation in the northern ghetto appears fragmented and attracts only a marginal group of followers, chiefly women and young children. (Harrison 1964).

Political and labor union activity also hold little interest for the Negro poor. Less than 30 percent of the women interviewed in Park Homes voted in the 1962 election (Kriesberg and Bellin 1965: Table 106), despite the fact that Kennedy was quite popular with the Negro low-income group. The general feeling among Negroes seems to be that they can do little to influence these large-scale organizations and therefore see no reason to participate. As Ernest R. explained, referring to political parties:

> "I just can't see what they've done. I mean there are so many problems to get done before they get to the little man. It's very hard for the individual to say what they have done where I feel they have made a difference."

The heaviest involvement of the Negro poor in outside institutions is in settlement houses and other charity organizations which cater specifically to the needs of the low-income group. Contrary to Whyte's description of the "college boys" in Street Corner Society (Whyte 1955), the settlement houses appear to find their greatest following, not among the upwardly mobile elements of the ghetto, but among fatherless families and others with very low incomes. (Table 30). These families are most in need of the services which settlement houses provide. Thus, Willie Mae, the unwed mother of six young children, makes extensive use of the services offered at the settlement house near Park Homes. She attends their sewing and literacy classes; she receives gifts of clothing, food and toys for the family at Christmas; and the children participate in the settlement's day camps, Halloween and Christmas parties, and other recreational activities. Settlement houses thus supplement in important ways the limited incomes on which many low-income families are forced to subsist. They provide services and goods which would be otherwise unattainable to these families on their meager budgets.

However, participation in these type of charity organizations does not help to assimilate the urban poor into the larger society. On the contrary, since they cater exclusively to the poor, these organizations tend to segregate low-income families still further from other class groups. The only middle-class persons with whom the poor come into contact in these organizations are the professional staff, many of whom tend to display a rather paternalistic attitude toward their clients. It is difficult for this middle-class staff to constitute viable models for their lower-class clientele, because they are rarely seen in a non-professional, day-to-day situation. They do not live in the ghetto nor do they ever meet with their clients in informal, social situations.

Thus, the physical and social composition of the ghetto tends to strengthen ties between project and neighborhood residents, and to cut them off from any contact with the middle-class world beyond their borders. Most needs and services can be met within the immediate neighborhood and are shared by project and neighborhood residents. (On a map the radius of activity of project and neighborhood residents is confined to a few miles). Few families outside the ghetto use the services or facilities provided in this area, particularly if they are white. The ghetto is known as Negro territory and most whites would prefer to leave it that way. Racial discrimination has thus reinforced the social isolation found in the Puerto Rican shanty town and housing project.

The Public Housing Project

Several factors facilitate the integration of Park Homes with the surrounding neighborhood. Because the population of both areas is distinctly lower class, there is not the social barrier to interaction between project and neighborhood residents found in the Puerto Rican project. Park Homes is also by no means as large as the Puerto Rican project, though with a total of 678 units, it is the largest project in the city. Nearly one-third of these units are in high-rise buildings for the elderly, but the remainder consist of attached, two-story, "garden-type" apartments grouped around courtyards. Each dwelling unit has two private entrances, the front door facing on the court and the back door facing on the street or parking lot, so that most residents enter through the back door leading into the kitchen. These garden-type apartments are a distinct improvement over the high-rise units described for Puerto Rico, and blend in well with the architecture of the surrounding neighborhood. They also make for greater visibility among residents since people can be seen as soon as they leave the building.

Tenants generally feel the garden apartments are "more like a home." The individual lawn areas provide space outdoors where children may play and adults congregate on a warm summer day apart from their neighbors. Since the play area is immediately accessible to the apartment, children can be supervised more easily than in high-rise units, where children are often left outdoors for hours without parental care. Within the home, also, the separation of a downstairs living area from the upstairs bedrooms provides more privacy, especially for families with several children.

While most apartments are well-kept, some show evidence of gross neglect. The kitchen sink is stacked with dirty dishes and scraps of food are strewn over the table and floor. The apartment looks like it has not been cleaned in weeks, with dirty clothes, cigarette butts, and other debris scattered all over. The furniture is old and dilapidated, with torn upholstery, threadbare rugs, and wobbly chairs which may be missing an arm or leg.

The poor appearance of some apartments stems partly from deficiencies in physical design. Families are too crowded with several children in each small bedroom. They lack basic facilities such as storage space, work areas, and laundry facilities. There is no place to store items like a bicycle, a sled, or a baby carriage except the small outdoor porch, where they are likely to be stolen. The coin-operated washing machines in the laundry rooms at Park Homes are usually out of order because the children tamper with them. Drying clothes in the laundry room stalls or on the lines outdoors is also a problem since they may be stolen. Most women use a commercial laundromat nearby or have their own washing machine, but few can afford a dryer. In bad weather particularly, many women resort to hanging their wash on lines strung up in the bathrooms or attempt to dry it over the radiator. The latter, of course, adds to the untidy appearance of an already crowded apartment.

The rules and regulations set up by the Housing Authority to insure the proper maintenance of apartments and grounds are generally ignored by the project population, who resent them as restrictions on their privacy and freedom. For example, according to the regulations, garbage must be securely wrapped in four thicknesses of newspaper before being disposed of in the outdoor dumpster. However, tenants usually carry their garbage out in trash cans or in loose wrappings, so that much of it is lost on the way. Often the doors to the dumpsters are left open or broken, attracting stray dogs or birds. Children sometimes set fire to the dumpsters just for the fun and excitement of watching the fire trucks arrive.

Tenants complain that the Housing Authority is unduly harsh in enforcing certain regulations. They complain that they are charged for the wear and tear normally expected in any dwelling unit, like chipped paint, worn tile, etc., and that they must pay for even small services such as installing washers. For this reason, many tenants prefer to undertake these repairs themselves and some men even paint their own apartments (though this is expressly against the regulations). The degree to which rules and regulations are enforced depends a great deal on the whims of the particular project official, and Negroes are obviously singled out for special attention. For example, the exterminator is supposed to inspect all newly occupied apartments to make sure they are free of vermin and other pests, but, as he commented to our observer, "If I look in and see it's clean and nice furniture, I don't bother. . . just if it's Negro or dirty or smells so strong you can tell it. Then I tell them, 'I have to look everybody's place over. . . that's the rule.'"

As in Puerto Rico, the maintenance problems in public housing reflect the failure of project tenants to identify with their neighborhood. Tenants take little pride in the physical appearance of the projects and feel that the Housing Authority should be responsible for all repairs and maintenance. Many express strong dissatisfaction with public housing and claim that they would move at the first opportunity. Ernest R. was very critical of public housing, saying:

> "All these things that they have taken away or have not given the people that live in the housing are the very things that everyone works for or strives for. They have a nice private yard, accommodations in the home, enough rooms to live in, a controlled area where there is authority and where everyone can work along nicely and well with each other. But as far as these things are concerned, they have taken all of the best things out of life and given us a place to live."

However, the choice of alternative private housing is so limited for the Negro poor that most of them are glad to have an apartment that is comparatively cheap and certainly an improvement over most slum housing. Families with many children or without a male breadwinner are even more limited in choice, and therefore even more eager to enter and remain in public housing. Contrary to Puerto Rico, where the alternative to public housing may be owning a small home in the shanty town, most ghetto residents are also renters. They receive more for their rent in public housing, even if there are greater restrictions. Therefore there is much less resistance to relocation in public housing in the ghetto than is found in the Puerto Rican shanty town.

Negroes also have difficulties obtaining mortgages for homepurchases, even if they have secure incomes. Molly and her husband, for example, were both steadily employed, she as a nurse's aid and he at a local bakery. They had two young girls and wanted to move out of the project to find a better environment for their children. They found a home for $10,000 in a quiet residential neighborhood on the south side of the city. The house had been repaired as part of a summer work camp project of a local church to aid in the relocation of low-income families from the urban renewal area. However, the couple's application for an FHA mortgage was rejected and they were forced to look elsewhere.

Negroes face more than income limitations in their search for better housing. They are accepted only in certain neighborhoods, have difficulty obtaining credit for mortgages, and must often pay more than white families for the same or equivalent accommodations. Thus, for Negro families, public housing represents a kind of security which only the most aggressive among them are able or willing to leave.

Making a Living

Income ranges are limited in public housing by federal and state regulations which specify the maximum amount which families may earn in order to be eligible for admission to public housing. Thus, the maximum net income for Park Homes, which is a federally aided project, for a family of five was $5,000 (Table 32), and very few families surpassed this amount (Table 34). However, since no such limitations apply to the surrounding neighborhood residents, their average incomes are considerably higher, and the range of income, as indicated by the standard deviation, is also wider (Table 31). Thus, as in Puerto Rico, public housing tends to limit recruitment to the lower socio-economic segment of the slum neighborhood. Public housing reduces the range of variation found in the ghetto and makes it even more difficult for low-income families to assimilate to the larger society.

Negroes are particularly likely to become permanent residents of public housing because of the barriers they face to upward mobility in a racially-stratified society. According to Housing Authority records in 1963, one-third of the Negro complete families and nearly three-fourths of the Negro one-parent families had annual incomes under $3,000 (Table 34). The explanation for these low incomes does not lie in race per se, but in factors associated with Negroes such as rural origin, family structure, and family size. Thus, 26.3 percent of the Negro families in Park Homes in 1963 consisted of six or more members (Table 33). Four Negro families were so large that they had to be given two units each to accommodate them.

Husbandless women with and without minor children constitute over half of the population interviewed in Park Homes and the overwhelming majority of them are Negro.[1] Most of these families have no one employed in the household (Table 35), and are largely dependent on public assistance. Monthly allocations under the Aid to Dependent Children program provide fatherless families with only the minimal necessities and each item of expenditure is carefully calculated and must be accounted for. Thus, in 1966 the monthly allowance for clothing for a pre-school child was $6.35, with items such as undershirts priced at $1.60, socks at $.36, shoes at $3.49, etc.[2]

Still many women prefer the regularity of an income from public assistance over the unstable support a husband could provide. For example, Willie Mae receives about $220 from ADC for herself and her six illegitimate children. Yet she has no interest in marrying the father of her last four children because he cannot adequately support the family. He is a construction worker and during the winter when bad weather prevents him from working, he draws only $30 a week in unemployment compensation. As Willie Mae says, "Thirty dollars would just feed us a week" and there would be nothing left over for rent and other expenses.

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[1] In 1963, only 21 out of 2[illegible]1 one-parent families in Park Homes were white. (1963 Statistical Summary of Tenant Population, Syracuse Housing Authority).

[2] Taken from the Onondaga Dept. of Social Welfare Allowance Schedule, effective June 1, 1966.

Like Willie Mae, many of the Negro families in Park Homes and the surrounding ghetto are recent southern migrants. Nearly 71 percent of the Negroes interviewed in Park Homes were raised in the South (Table 36), and over half of the Negro sample in the project arrived in the city since 1950 (Table 37). Most of these migrants came from rural farm areas or small rural communities of less than 100,000 population (Table 38), and a high percentage of their fathers were engaged in agricultural occupations (Table 39), generally as tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Their southern rural origin is reflected in their low educational levels. In the project sample as a whole (which included all four public housing projects), 44.8 percent of those raised in the South have had eight years of schooling or less (Table 40). This helps to explain the low educational levels among Negroes in the sample as a whole (Table 41) and among Park project residents in particular (Table 42). Very few Park adults in the survey sample have completed high school.

The poor often blame their parents for their failure to secure more education. Lisa R. claimed that she wanted to be a singer, a teacher, or a pianist, but "because my mother could never afford to help me, I never got interested in any one thing." Still, even as an adult, Lisa never stuck to anything very long. At one point, she became very enthused over a typing class given at night at one of the local high schools. She was tired of working as a waitress and wanted to obtain a good secretarial job like her mother had. Nevertheless, Lisa quit her typing classes as soon as her former employer offered her a slight raise to come back to work in his restaurant. She had missed several lessons anyway, and resolved to practice at home on her own typewriter. Of course, she never did. She lacked the drive needed to sustain any effort over a long period of time.

Lack of discipline and motivation hinders many of the Negro poor from job advancement. Men with temporary, seasonal jobs in construction or industry often prefer to draw unemployment compensation during part of the year rather than take permanent jobs which pay less. Lisa's husband, Ernest, was consistently turned down for job promotions at the Medical College where he was employed as a parking attendant. He attributed his rejection to the fact that he was a Negro, but his poor work record may also have influenced their decision. He was frequently late for work and sometimes he did not appear at all, offering no justifiable explanation. Once he took off a few days to spend some time with his wife. They had not been getting along too well and Ernest felt it was because they didn't see enough of each other. There is little motivation to work hard at jobs which offer almost no possibility of advancement.

Lisa constantly berated her husband for not trying to find a better job. She complained:

> "He's been at this job for four years. . .It's a boring job. He watches the cars, tells them where to park the cars, and makes sure the kids don't ransack them. After all the raises this is only as far as he's gotten. He claims he wants to go to school, take an art course, and educate himself, but he just doesn't seem to have the initiative. . .He's afraid of trying anything else."

Fear and ignorance prevents many of the poor, and especially Negroes, from applying for better jobs or seeking additional training. Thus, one Negro woman took a job on the housekeeping staff of a hospital rather than go through a training program for nurses' aids, which is what she really wanted to do. Negroes are reluctant to apply for civil service jobs like policemen, firemen, or postmen because so few Negroes have qualified for these positions. Yet civil service jobs are among the few opportunities available for stable, well-paid employment to the low-income group, and constitute an important avenue of upward mobility for many families.

Racial discrimination in employment is, of course, less blatant than in the South, but therefore also more difficult to identify. One young Negro remarked:

> "I believe there is a certain amount of segregation here in . . .They may not show it. A lot of jobs I went to - I was sent to them by the employment office actually - and when you're sent to a job by the employment office, you're supposed to start work. But I went to about two or three jobs and when I got there the guy said that they were only taking applications. Well, I believe that at the time I went there I was supposed to get the job. Now, I don't know whether it was segregation or what it was."

The differential occupational distribution of whites and Negroes reflects the fact that Negroes face greater difficulties in securing stable jobs or advancing to positions of responsibility (Table 43). While most white men in the project sample as a whole hold skilled or semi-skilled jobs as artisans or factory workers, a large number of Negroes are employed in service industries or as laborers, jobs which are usually the lowest paid and most unstable in the low-income employment market. Similarly, women in the low-income group are confined to jobs requiring little skill or education, like salesgirls, waitresses, domestics, nurses' aids, and factory workers. Some women may also earn extra money by doing odd jobs in the neighborhood, such as babysitting, ironing, and setting hair. Since these jobs can be done at home and are paid in small cash contributions, they are usually not reported to the Housing Authority, which would be forced to raise their rent because of the added income. Women who receive public welfare are particularly reluctant to take permanent jobs because their salaries would be deducted from their welfare allowances.

Married women often regard their work role as temporary and supplementary; they may work to pay off some extra bills, or to make special purchases at Easter or Christmas, or because their husbands are temporarily unemployed. Like Puerto Rico, however, if the married woman should take over the breadwinner role, she is likely to feel that her husband is not fulfilling his function as economic provider and the marriage may end in separation or divorce. Lisa constantly accuses Ernest of not being man enough to support his family adequately. She claims that she has to work to make ends meet. When told that her husband did not want her to work, she exclaimed:

> "That's a lie, that's a lie. He told me that perhaps if I were to get a job, we could pay some of our bills, and then see our way clear to getting the car fixed, which has been in the garage since April. I don't want the car. I can't even drive. He is just so selfish, it's a shame. There are many other things we need worse than a car. The children need clothes, I need clothes, and there are a million unpaid bills. Why I have things on layaway downtown right now that I can't even get because we don't have the money. How am I supposed to sit at home knowing that we are in debt up to our necks?"

Thus, the precarious economic position of the Negro male is an important factor contributing to marital instability among the Negro poor, as several writers have pointed out (Cf. Moynihan 1965; Raymond Smith 1956). However, as we have seen it is not race per se, but the factors associated with race such as rural origin, low educational levels, racial discrimination, poor motivation and other factors which deter Negro men from competing in the limited low-income job market. The Negro family is not inherently unstable or non-mobile, as some would have us think. There is a core of upwardly mobile, Negro families among the young heads of small, stable families, many of whom were born in the North and who have had the advantages of a high school education and longer urban experience. But few of these upwardly mobile families live in public housing, at least not a project like Park Homes[1], and if they are admitted, they do not stay very long. Thus, public housing becomes primarily a concentration of chronically dependent low-income families who have little hope of upward mobility or assimilation with the larger society.

Patterns of Consumption and Expenditure

Two chief reasons lie behind the precarious economic situation of many low-income families. One is the instability of employment and dependence on public welfare, described above. The other is the pattern of unplanned expenditures, to be analyzed here.

Few families in Park Homes keep a budget. It is difficult for many families to realistically plan how to spend their money when they cannot count on a stable income. However, many of the poor go into debt unnecessarily in order to buy luxuries like new furniture or fancy clothes. As a result, they may not have enough left over to meet basic necessities like food and housing, not to mention emergencies like sickness or unemployment.

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[1] Another of the projects studied contained a good percentage of these younger, more stable families. It seems the Housing Authority may have deliberately kept them out of Park Homes.

Part of the debt problem arises from the ease with which credit is extended to these families. Since they cannot afford to pay cash for new furniture, clothing, or other expensive items, they are drawn to stores which offer "easy credit plans," even though these stores may charge more. The result, as Caplovitz has stated, is that "The poor pay more." (Caplovitz 1963). Given their dependence on credit facilities, low-income families cannot afford to become discriminating shoppers in the middle-class sense.

Clothing is a good example. The poor like to boast about the "bargains" picked up downtown, particularly at one of the better stores. A woman will often go to considerable expense for a new party dress to wear at a special occasion such as a wedding or graduation. The dress must look "expensive" with bright sequins or sparkles, flowing nets and other adornments. Parents make a special effort to buy new clothes for their children at Easter, since the children are expected to appear at church well-dressed and receive approving comments from friends and relatives. Thus, the R. family bought new dresses, shoes, handbags, hats, and gloves for all three of their girls, and for their boy, they bought a shirt, tie, overcoat, trousers, and even a hat of the latest fashion with a slim brim and a feather in the band. All of this cost Mrs. R sixty dollars or one week's salary.

Where a family has several children to clothe, parents try tp stretch their limited resources in various ways. Many children must wear hand-me-downs outgrown by older brothers and sisters or given them by neighbors and relatives. Older teen-age children may buy their own clothes with money made through babysitting, paper routes, or other part-time jobs. Very poor families often rely on the clothing exchange operated by the local settlement house near Park Homes. Here, second-hand clothes, outgrown by children of more affluent families, are sold at very low prices. However, many families are reluctant to admit their use of these exchanges because it is a confession of poverty and low status. On the other hand, receiving surplus food does not appear to have any negative status connotations, and families freely give away items which they don't like or can't use. Perhaps this is because food is not a major status item, except on certain festive occasions.

Furniture is a major status item among the urban poor, particularly for those living in public housing. Since all the apartments within a housing project are approximately alike in design and appearance, the only way in which families can differentiate their homes from those of their neighbors is through furniture. Thus, as in Puerto Rico, the status differences leveled by public housing are reasserted in a new way.

Certain kinds of furniture, of course, have more status value than others. High on the list of status symbols are television sets, especially the console type with a wide screen (Color television apparently is still too expensive for most of the poor). Modern automatic washers and hi-fi or stereo sets ranging in price from $100 to $300 are also high in status value. Modern sectional sofas in brightly colored plastic, complete with chairs, coffee tables and end tables, and dinette sets with formica tops and matching chairs are other favorite status items.

Apparently less emphasis is placed on bedroom furniture, which is not as visible to visitors. The beds and dresser (if there is one) may be old and dilapidated, with no bedspreads, curtains or chairs in the room. For lack of a crib or bassinet, a baby may be kept for months in the cardboard box provided by the hospital. Only after the family has already acquired the other status items will they invest in an expensive bedroom set, preferably of French provincial style with matching lamps and tables. Almost any item can acquire status value if it is large and expensive looking. Thus, an ordinary sewing machine would have little status value, but a console zigzag machine in a highly polished cabinet would be worthy of prominant display.

These status items distinctly set off their owners from poorer families, who are forced to make do with second-hand furniture stores or charity organizations like the Salvation Army. Willie Mae, the unwed mother in Park Homes, has been unable to buy any new furniture in the six years she has been living in public housing and relies entirely on the Welfare Department and charity organizations to replace worn-out items. The packing is falling out of the kitchen chairs and the living room couch is covered with old bedspreads to protect what is left of it. There are an old radio and television set Willie Mae bought when she was working, but the only new items are some blankets and linens which a door-to-door salesman sold her on credit.

The popularity of door-todoor salesmen among ghetto families rests largely on the easy credit facilities they offer. Fixed payments may be made monthly and applied against the family's bill. These salesmen sell a great variety of products, ranging from expensive items such as life insurance and sets of encyclopedias costing $250 to household goods like brushes, mops, rugs, blankets, and curtains. A favorite item among many poor Negro families, even if they are not particularly religious, is a painted photograph of Christ in a gilded frame, which sells for about $25. The salesman ply housewives with their smooth sales talk, making snide comments which would never be accepted in a middle-class home.

The home demonstration party represents another drain on the limited resources of low-income families. Any number of items are sold at these parties, but the favorites appear to be costume jewelry, cosmetics, clothing and household goods. The sales representative gives the actual demonstration, but the person in whose home the party is held is responsible for contacting prospective customers and for serving refreshments. In return, she receives a certain amount of jewelry free, depending upon the amount sold. Everyone is expected to purchase something, and the larger the purchase, the greater the status value attached to it. Often the hostess makes the largest purchase herself, and ends up owing the company more than they owe her. Thus, the home demonstration party is another way in which the poor are encouraged to overextend their limited financial resources on items which have little more than prestige value.

Christmas presents have considerable status value for the giver as well as the receiver. Some low-income families outdo themselves to buy expensive toys for the children and other gifts. In the R. family, for example, each of the girls received a huge stuffed animal, two dolls, and cooking toys, while the boy got a rocket space toy, a remote control jeep, a large toy racing car, and a set of toy soldiers. The children were scolded for playing with their gifts, however, because Mrs. R. feared the toys would be damaged before relatives and friends arrived to admire them.

Many poorer families have to buy second-hand toys for their children or accept donations from charity organizations like the Salvation Army or the Rescue Mission. Since they cannot afford expensive items like bicycles, games, or ice skates, children learn to improvise with what is available. One of their favorite tricks is to steal a shopping cart from the supermarket, remove the basket, and use the frame as a scooter. They enjoy racing with old tires or making tents out of old blankets. Once, when the pipe to one of the construction projects broke, the children got up at 6 A.M. to play in the water gushing into the street.

A car is not only an important status symbol, but opens up possibilities for many new leisure time activities. Even if a family cannot live outside the ghetto, a car gives them the opportunity to move about more freely, to picnic outside the city during the summer, to visit friends and relatives, and perhaps even to travel to Niagara Falls. Thus, after the R. family discovered the high rental rates in private housing and were turned down in several places because of their race, they decided instead to turn in their 1956 station wagon for a 1960 red and white Corvair. The transmission was going bad in the old car and, rather than invest $200 in repairs, Mr. R. preferred to pay $1,600 for the newer model. The most prestige value, of course, is attached to new cars and to the more expensive models. However, like the R. family, many of the poor must be content with cheaper, second-hand models, often as much as eight or ten years old.

The emphasis upon the possession of certain status items among the poor clearly indicates that they are aware of middle-class standards and values and imitate these as best as they can. Some families, of course, are so poor that they do not even attempt to join in this competition for prestige. They cannot afford anything but the minimal necessities and are dependent upon contributions from charity organizations, relatives, and friends to keep them above the subsistence level. Thus, they buy second-hand clothing at the clothing exchange and second-hand furniture at the Salvation Army. The settlement houses give them turkeys for Thanksgiving and toys for the children at Christmas. The government provides them with surplus food, free medical care, and public housing at minimal rents.

Much of the striving for status among the poor is directed toward distinguishing themselves from those at the bottom of the social scale and is done in conscious imitation of middle-class standards. Thus, families who can afford to reject second-hand clothing and furniture in favor of wide-screened television sets, expensive-looking living room sets, and new Easter outfits for the children. Almost every low-income family would like to own their own house and car, and to buy expensive toys for the children at Christmas. They gain prestige from giving home demonstration parties or by wearing gaudy, sequined party dresses to neighborhood weddings.

This form of conspicuous consumption doesn't always indicate a rise in social status. Buying luxury items like new clothing, cars, or toys without achieving concomitant levels of living in terms of income, housing, education, and occupation, does not confer middle-class status. As Gans observed in the case of Italian-Americans in the West End:

> "Some observers have interpreted the purchase of modern appliances and automobiles as signs that people like the West Enders have thereby accepted American middle-class culture. But there is no evidence for this observation. Appliances are culturally neutral artifacts that can be adapted to almost any culture." (Gans 1962: 183).

Conspicuous consumption is one of the few institutional practices open to all in the society, as long as they have the money to spend. A clerk or shopkeeper does not question whether the customer is poor or rich, white or Negro, so long as he is not asking for credit. Thus, it is not surprising that middle-class standards are closely observed in the area of consumer buying. But by discouraging saving and encouraging families to overextend their limited resources on unnecessary luxuries, conspicuous consumption may retard the process of upward mobility and assimilation into the larger society.

The School and Other Formative Institutions

Education can play an important role in assimilating the poor into the larger society. Through the school, the child can learn of opportunities not open to him in his immediate home and neighborhood. Both through formal classroom learning and through informal association with classmates and teachers, he can become aware of styles of life different from those he has known. More importantly, the school can prepare him to lead a new style of life by giving him the academic and vocational skills necessary to promote upward mobility.

However, as S. M. Miller has pointed out, "It is the linkage of (high school) graduation with prior middle-class status that makes the major difference in the overall results of the relation of high-school diplomas to occupations." (Miller 1964: 8). A high school diploma is not enough to assure the low-income child of upward mobility. He needs also the guidance and support of parents, peer group, school, and other stimuli to which the middle-class child is exposed.

The low-income child is often deprived of these supportative elements. Most low-income parents, while they may value education in the abstract, fail to provide their children with the stimulation and support children receive in the middle-class home. They seldom bother to inquire about their children's grades or to see that they do their homework. The home atmosphere is hardly conducive to study or learning. It is noisy and crowded, and the children have many household chores to do besides their homework. Children are kept home from school for the slightest reason - to go shopping, to visit the doctor, to nurse a slight cough or headache, or simply because their mother overslept and forgot to wake them. The grandmother of one young Negro boy confessed that she often told the school her grandson was ill when actually he had spent the day downtown playing hookey.

Though parents complain about the poor schools in the ghetto, they make little effort to have their child attend a better school or to improve the facilities in existing neighborhood schools. Parents seldom attend P. T. A. meetings or school open houses to meet their children's teachers or principal. In fact, the only time they go to school is when the principal calls them on disciplinary or learning problems. C.O.R.E. and other community action groups have attempted to enlist the support of parents in the ghetto for protests demanding school desegregation through redistricting or bussing of Negro students. However, these protests have not aroused a great deal of interest in Negro parents,[1] some of whom are afraid to have their children bussed into another area of the city. Our observer reported that some Negro parents in Park Homes apparently unwittingly supported a one-day boycott organized by C.O.R.E. to protest school desegregation. Seeing that other children did not go to school, these parents thought that it was a holiday and kept their children home also.

Negro children and their parents often complain that the teachers lack interest in their students. Some feel that the teachers are only interested in their salaries and not in the children as individuals. They think the teachers don't really care whether they learn or not. To retaliate, the children are noisy and unruly. If the teacher is a man, the boys may threaten to beat him up, while the girls taunt him with snide remarks, often with a sexual connotation. Such an atmosphere, of course, only adds to the difficulty of learning and to the difficulty of communication between teachers and students.

Few Negro students really enjoy school or feel they can profit from an education. When asked whether she planned to quit school at sixteen, one Negro girl reported: "Naw, man, that's the only time I can get out of the house." Many Negroes fear that, even with a high school diploma, they will be unable to secure decent jobs. As one Negro girl remarked: "Why finish school? We are only going to end up cooking, cleaning, and tending some white woman's baby!" Another Negro woman complained that both her daughters were working as domestics, though they were high school graduates with secretarial training.

The lack of job opportunities for Negroes helps to explain why, in the survey sample as a whole, Negro mothers tend to place less emphasis on continuing education beyond high school than do low-income white mothers (Table 44). Low aspirations are particularly prevalent among Negro husbandless mothers, who represent the poorest of the low-income group. Evidently, these mothers are too burdened by the current struggle for survival and a long history of poverty to have much hope for their children.

Most low-income parents give little thought to their children's future and usually emphasize that children must "pick and choose what they want to be themselves." While such an attitude may be thought to offer the child maximum latitude for the development of his own interests and talents, it usually reflects an attitude of resignation on the part of parents for their children's future. As a result, children, like adults, often end up taking the first job they can get with no clear "occupational career" in mind. As Billy H. remarked, when asked if it was difficult to find a job in the city:

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[1] This situation may have changed since this study was conducted in 1963. Several action groups have intensified efforts to recruit the support of parents from the Negro slum area.

> "Well, it's a little hard. I realize that. But if you look you can find it, cause I did. You go right out today and tomorrow you find a job, but you keep looking and you'll find something. It may not be what you want, but a lot of times you can't take what you want, you take what you get."

Most low-income parents, when questioned, will admit that they would like their children to have more education and hold better jobs than they themselves have obtained. Work at the foundry is too hard; a parking attendant has no possibility of advancement; and, certainly, no woman encourages her daughter to work as a domestic. Ernest R. claimed:

> ". . .I always try to show him (my son). . .how if you don't go to school you're going to do work that you don't want to do like I'm doing. And I always try to show him things that he could be doing in magazines, you know, like he likes rockets. That's all he talks about is rockets. . .so I think he'll be interested in aeronautics or some type of engineering, in rockets, missiles. I think he'll be good in the electronic field."

But it is doubtful that Ernest's son will even finish high school, let alone become an engineer. His parents spend most of their time at home in squabbles and the children are left on their own a great deal. The boy lacks the support at home to follow any long-range educational goal.

There would seem to be an untapped reservoir of talent among low-income youth, especially Negroes, in areas such as music, dance, and sports, which could flourish with some encouragement and training. The entertainment and sports fields have traditionally provided a rapid avenue of upward mobility for the poor, and are not as dependent upon long years of educational preparation. It is common to see groups of Negro teenage boys congregate on street corners and begin spontaneously to harmonize the latest rock and roll tunes. Teenagers pick up new dance steps with great facility and a Negro is often the star of the weekly summer dances at a suburban amusement park. A twelve-year-old Negro girl, recently arrived from the South, showed me some poems she had written in fairly sophisticated blank verse. But there is little stimulus in the outside environment to encourage the development of several interests and talents. The parents and peer group are not interested, and the school emphasizes a different set of skills and aptitudes. The school rewards not the rock and roll singer or even the good art student, but the student who excels in arithmetic, chemistry, or social studies.

The mass media offer little in the way of creative stimulation. While television is very popular among the poor, they rarely see educational programs and tend to favor westerns, war films, dance programs, and crime stories. Their favorite movies would appear to be Biblical spectaculars like Spartacus or comedies of the Jerry Lewis variety. Few people regularly read a local newspaper or even a popular magazine. The only books in evidence in low-income homes are the children's school books and occasionally the Bible. Not even children ever mentioned going to the public library.

Children seldom participate in the formal type lessons and club activities with which middle-class children fill their after-school hours. Leisure is not looked on as a learning experience, in which the child is enriched through art or ballet lessons or even outings with the Boy Scouts. A few children participate in the recreational activities of the Boys Club or nearby settlement house, and may attend summer camps sponsored by these charity organizations. For example, Willie Mae's two older boys attend the Boys Club camp for two weeks every summer. But as with adults, the type of recreational activities offered to the poor does not help to integrate them into the larger society. Since they are designed for low-income areas, these activities only serve to bring the poor into contact with people of their own class level.

At any rate, the school and other formal educational activities cannot be relied on exclusively to open up the ghetto to the outside world. The school needs the support of other institutions like the churches, political parties, labor unions, and neighborhood organizations, which draw on an adult as well as a child population. There has been a tendency to place too great a burden on the school to ameliorate the ills of the ghetto, and to ignore the home and neighborhood influences which have so strong an impact on the low-income child. We shall examine the nature of neighboring relationships in the ghetto in the next section.

Relationships with Neighbors and the Outside World

Like the Puerto Rican poor, the Negro low-income group are marginal participants in urban society. The Negro poor in this city show little involvement in outside institutions like political parties and labor unions, and their churches seldom bring them into contact with people of other class levels. As among the Puerto Rican poor, social life in the ghetto is centered around the home and neighborhood and emphasizes informal activity in small, face-to-face groups rather than participation in formal organizations.

Women spend most of their spare time at home playing with the children, chatting with neighbors, and watching television. In the summer the Negro women in Park Homes hold outdoor barbecues where they sell fried pork chitterlings, ham hocks, and other Southern delicacies, although this is against the regulations of the Housing Authority. Men spend their leisure hours with friends at a local bar, playing pool, or playing a game of cards at a friend's house. The poor cannot afford middle-class leisure time activities like concerts and plays, dining out in restaurants, or expensive sports events. Nor are they interested in most of these activities.

The ghetto is characterized by extensive patterns of mutual aid. Neighbors are constantly borrowing small items like bleach, ink, postage stamps, a tea bag, sugar, flour, and eggs. They lend each other the use of appliances such as washing machines, irons, vacuum cleaners, and baby carriages. Our observer's telephone was used by neighbors as often as four or five times a day. Women call on each other for babysitting and other services, and when Rachel went to the hospital, her friends cooked, cleaned, and took care of the children. Children may offer to carry home heavy packages, or shovel snow from the sidewalks, or carry out the garbage, without any remuneration. Families receiving surplus food often donate large portions to their neighbors, while items such as old clothes and furniture are often exchanged or given away.

Violations of the code of reciprocity and egalitarianism governing relationships among Negroes may be severely criticized. Thus, Rachel's husband Billy reprimanded her for refusing to give food to one of Lisa's children after he asked for it. Billy reminded Rachel that one of their children could be hungry someday and he would like to think people would feed him. Neighbors are not expected to charge for the assistance they provide, and our observer was shocked when one of her close friends allowed her to pay for a box of cereal. As in Puerto Rico, cash payments establish a contractual relationship between the giver and receiver which violates the egalitarian nature of neighborhood relationships.

Parties are common in the ghetto and generally include people both from the project and the surrounding neighborhood, but only Negroes. In order to distribute the cost, parties are often given on a rotating basis at different homes and many women contribute food, which may include fried chicken, potatoe salad, sandwiches, etc. Rachel and her friends had a party almost every weekend. As Rachel answered, when asked where to find some fun in the city: "You don't find it, you make it." Their parties often lasted all night as people danced, drank and played cards. Spurred on by heavy drinking, these parties sometimes end in fights such as the one described below:

> "Around 2 A.M. Wilbur S. got into the card game and very soon after, he started fussing that he had lost his money because the other fellows did not like him and teamed against him. He began cursing at Rachel, and Billy asked him to leave his house. Wilbur said he was not going anyplace and no one could put him out until he got his money back. . .Billy went upstairs and got his pistol and Rachel tried to stop him. . .Billy pushed her so forcefully that she fell across a table in the living room. The fellows were holding Billy because they knew he is on probation and to get into any trouble would mean that he would have to go to jail. . .Wilbur was trying to get loose from the fellows holding him so that he could fight Billy and Billy was trying to do the same thing. Finally the fellows who had Wilbur tossed him out the door in the snow and told him if he came back all of them were going to team together and kill him. He did not come back after that."

This incident gives some clear evidence of social control in the ghetto. The men tried to break up the fight and they tried to prevent Billy from getting into trouble. Neighbors also look out for each other's children. Thus, when Lisa's children were playing in the construction yard where the men were working, Rachel called them to go away because it might be dangerous. Rachel said that though she and Lisa were not friends, she would not want anything to happen to the children.

However, our observer witnessed several other incidents in which onlookers actually encouraged fights, goading the participants on and pushing them into each other. After our observer managed to break up one fight between two young children, she overheard comments from the other children like: "That was the sorriest fight I've ever seen." "Man, that weren't nothing." and "It was about to get good just as she broke it up." The police are often called in to settle purely personal disputes between neighbors or arguments between husband and wife. This dependence on outside authority to maintain order in the community underlines the lack of cohesion in the ghetto. Ghetto residents lack faith and trust in each other to solve their own problems, and their continued dependence on outside authority only increases their feelings of inadequacy.

The Negro ghetto lacks the cohesion of the Puerto Rican shanty town. Despite extensive patterns of mutual aid and other forms of socializing among neighbors, ghetto residents fail to identify with their community or feel any stake in it. Thus, while most residents of the ghetto are of the same class and race, many project residents feel they have little in common with their neighbors. Only 27.5 percent of the Park project adults interviewed claim to have quite a lot in common with people in their neighborhood (Kriesberg and Bellin 1965: Table 67 C). Ernest R. was very critical of his neighbors, exclaiming:

> ". . .I have one neighbor I consider a neighbor, that is Bob (our observer). Others I don't know and I don't care to know. I'm not used to living around this type of people, and I don't intend to live around this type - and I don't like a neighborhood that is predominantly one race of people.
> . . .The people here don't have any interest at all in upkeep of their property. . .and the children. Raising children of your own, it's almost impossible to raise them as good kids, you know?"

Fights between neighbors are common and stem from a variety of reasons. Parents often get involved in disputes between children, or neighbors take sides in arguments between husband and wife. When Rachel told the S. girl that her father should go "see Lawyer Green and Judge Bush" for his wife (meaning he should find a stick and beat her with it), Mrs. S. was furious and told Rachel: "If you stick your nose in my business again, I'll beat the god damn hell out of you."

Complaints are often turned into the Housing Authority about noisy late-night parties or other violations, and neighbors frequently suspect each other. Neighbors also accuse each other of stealing. When Florence's watch was missing, she immediately accused Sally saying, "That girl would steal the drawers off your ass if she thought she could get away with it." She backed up her assertion by citing articles Sally had stolen from stores downtown and shown them.

Petty thievery is endemic in the ghetto, and neighbors dare not leave toys and other articles outside unwatched. Our observer had diapers and other clothes taken from the clothes line, a bottle of vodka from the cupboard, and even money from her little girl's piggy bank. Neighbors complain of stolen hubcaps, phonograph records, and Rachel had eight pounds of butter taken from the refrigerator. The mailman was always careful to ring before he left mail containing checks because they had been stolen so often. Children frequently steal small items from the supermarket or fruit from the produce truck. Willie Mae's oldest boy broke into the apartment of an elderly Jewish lady on the court and cut up her living room sofa and a couple of chairs, broke soda bottles, and mashed fruits and vegetables on the floor with his feet. The latter action reflects the deep-seated hostility to outsiders, especially whites, to be commented on later. But the widespread pattern of stealing manifests a lack of social control and cohesion even among neighbors of the same race.

Neighbors are constantly gossiping about each other and spreading vicious rumors. They make derogatory comments about each other's clothes, about the sloppy appearance of the apartment, and especially about the person's sexual behavior. .g., "Did you know that Mr. P. slept with his daughter when his wife was indisposed?" "She's getting exactly what she deserves, cutting out on her husband like that." "Sally ought to scrub her neck with a Brillo pad. Her clothes are too tight and it won't be long before she is pregnant with all the petting she does." When one of her friends was under observation in the hospital for appendicitis, Lisa said, "If she had asked me, I could have saved her a hospital bill by telling her that her side hurt because of too many intercourses." Her friend was, of course, a single girl.

Arguments between neighbors often take on racial overtones. When two women, one white and one Negro, got into an argument over their children, the Negro woman exclained: "Cause you white don't mean you can fuck with me and my children. I'll beat your ass as quick as anybody else's." Race is rarely the cause of these arguments, but the fact that racial factors are usually brought into the discussion seems to indicate an underlying tension and acute awareness of color differences. The few whites remaining in the ghetto generally keep their distance from Negroes and behave like a threatened minority. The children of the one white family on the court where our observer lived were not allowed to play with most of the Negro children except for the R. children who were lighter-skinned. When the white family was moving, the four-year-old girl mentioned several friends she would miss in the neighborhood, but excluded the R. children. When asked why, she replied: ". . .I was just naming all my white friends." Even at four, the child is well aware of color differences in her friends.

White girls generally do not go out with Negro boys, nor do they form close friendships with Negro girls. White girls may be perceived as competition by Negro girls in getting a boyfriend. Also, Negroes tend to look on whites who get too close to the Negro community as oddities and are suspicious of their motivations. Florence, a white teenager, was a close friend of the R. family and often helped to clean the house and care for the children. Commenting on her behavior, Lillie Ann, a Negro, said, "What kind of girl is Florence? If I were white, I sure wouldn't be scrubbing no colored woman's house. Why she is nothing but poor white trash."

Most whites are explicitly excluded from the system of mutual aid because it is difficult for Negroes to deal with them on a reciprocal, equalitarian bases. Therefore, anything Negroes receive or borrow from whites only appears to reinforce the Negro's subordinate status. For example, Clarissa was very poor and had almost no furniture or clothes, but she refused any assistance from her white neighbor across the street because she felt the woman only wanted to talk about her with her friends. She also refused to leave her baby with white women at the laundry room, exclaiming, "I can't ask them white women to look after my baby. You think I want them white people looking after my baby?" Such an attitude is particularly characteristic of recent Southern migrants, like Clarissa, who have long been subjected to white domination.

The subtler form of discrimination practiced in the North appears to encourage more divisiveness within the Negro community. In the South, all Negroes are considered and treated as Negroes, regardless of color differences, but in the North, lighter-skinned Negroes are somewhat more acceptable to whites and thereby encouraged to break away from the Negro community. The R. family is a good example of the attitude of Northern light-skinned Negroes toward their darker-skinned brothers. Lisa's extramarital affairs were always with white men, and she expressed extreme discomfort in segregated situations where only Negroes were present. She described her fear at appearing at a segregated beach in Maryland as a girl and having "all those Negroes" stare at her. She and her husband took no interest in civil rights or school desegregation and sent their children to parochial schools. Lisa's mother was one of the few Negroes to invite white people to her parties and was bitterly disappointed that her other daughter had married a dark-skinned Negro. She complained, "I couldn't see why Carol wanted to marry such a black, no good fellow like him anyway." Lisa's neighbors were of course aware of her feelings of superiority and criticized her for it. She and Rachel had been neighbors for years, but did not speak to each other nor did their children play together. Rachel explained, "She (Lisa) thinks she is white anyway, and walks around not speaking to anyone on the block. If she thinks she is too good to speak to me, I feel that I am also too good to speak to her."

While there is resentment against whites and lighter skinned Negroes who flaunt their supposed superiority, there is little pride in identification as a Negro. Efforts by the N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E. and other civil rights groups to organize the Negroes of the ghetto have proved rather unsuccessful because of the general political apathy of the population. Protest is reduced to isolated acts of violence which reflect the deep-seated hostility of Negroes toward white domination. Many Negroes have come to regard the ghetto as their own territory and have made whites fearful of walking down there alone at night. Our observer described the following scuffle between five Negro boys and a white boy who was passing theough the project. The Negroes shouted threats like: "You own all the rest of the city, and I'll be damned if we are going to let you take over the . . .(ghetto)." "We don't want to catch you down in this area after dark." The Negro boys had taken a box away from the white boy and as he tried to retrieve it, one of them pushed him down and exclaimed: "If you want it, ask for it. The mistake of trying to take it might be your last. We have to ask you for everything, now you ask us for a change, Mr. Charlie." In short, in the ghetto the roles are reversed and the Negro is master.

Some Negroes feel the way to even the score is to exploit whites in the same way that Negroes have been exploited. When a Negro boy ran into a moving car, another Negro argued that the police should be told the car hit the boy. He explained: "We have gotten fucked so many times by the white man that if we can get something back, we ought to. I'm sure that little boy's family can use the money if he gets anything out of it.

Hostility toward whites is increased by the suggestion that white men consider Negro women as easy target for promiscuity. Women receive anonymous phone calls with lewd propositions like: "How would you like to pose for some pictures in the nude?" or "Would you like to babysit with me tonight?" White men in passing cars try to pick up Negro women with comments like: "Want to go with us, Baby?.. We'll bring you back here. We ain't going to hurt ya, just going to have a little fun." Outsiders like policemen, salesmen, maintenance men, mailmen, and construction workers often flirt with Negro women. Mavis called the police one day because her husband had thrown her out of the house after an argument. The next day she telephoned one of the policemen who had left her a note saying he wanted to see her. She explained, "He was very nice to me yesterday." Flirtations between Negro women and white men, even if harmless, only add to frustration and hostility of Negro men because it appears to point up their own inadequacies.

Dominic, the white mailman, was one of the few outsiders to break the wall of hostility toward the outside world. He was very popular with ghetto residents and claimed that he knew all the people in his territory. Dominic said he would not consider working in any other area of the city because they were the most friendly people with whom he had ever come into contact. He is godfather to several ghetto children and father to one illegitimate child, whose Negro mother lives in the project. He openly acknowledges his paternity and appears to continue to visit this woman, though he has a wife and child at home. It is clear that extramarital relationships are not confined to members of the same race, but they rarely result in legal unions. There are a few interracial marriages in the ghetto, but most consist of white women and Negro men.

The hostility of the Negro toward the outside world, and towards whites in particular, cannot be openly expressed without fear of further endangering his precarious position in society. The Negro's hands are tied because he is dependent upon the very agencies he most resents. Negroes resent white storekeepers but are dependent upon them for credit. They resent the staff of the Housing Authority but cannot complain for fear of eviction or increase in rent payments. They resent the police but they are quick to call them to settle an argument with a neighbor or to break up a noisy party. They cannot even challenge the right of white men to make passes at their women without the risk of ending up in jail.

Since Negroes are unable to rebel openly against the outside world, much of their resentment is turned inward toward members of their own community and race. Though they are isolated from the outside world and confined to primary relationships with members of their own class and race, Negroes have not developed a strong sense of community solidarity. They not only resent whites, they also distrust their own neighbors and other Negroes. They steal from each other, call each other names, and turn each other in to the Housing Authority or the police. Lighter-skinned Negroes look down on their darker-skinned brethern and deride the recent southern migrants as "bean pickers."[1]

The nature of neighboring relationships in the ghetto is not the anomie characteristic of apartment dwellers in the city or even modern suburbanites. People know one another, are involved with one another, and help each other out. It is not the lack of neighborhood relationships but their divisive quality which distinguishes the ghetto from other low-income neighborhoods. The ghetto lacks the cohesion to provide a buffer against the discrimination and low status to which Negroes are subject in the outside world.

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[1] The term "bean pickers" refers to the fact that many southern migrants arrived in this area as seasonal agricultural workers.

Conclusions

Several of the factors contributing to the cohesion of the shanty town are lacking in the ghetto. The leadership exerted by the core of "old-timers" in the shanty town has no parallel in the ghetto, which looks to the outside world to take the initiative in local neighborhood affairs. Ghetto residents are heavily dependent upon project management, the police, and other public authorities for maintaining social control in the neighborhood, and even bring them into internal family disputes. There is no history of joint effort to improve the neighborhood as exemplified by the barrio committees in the shanty town, and even community action groups supported by outside funds and assistance have failed to arouse much enthusiasm. Relationships between neighbors are marked by strife and suspicion, and much of the hostility which Negroes feel toward white society is turned inward toward members of their own community and race. Despite extensive patterns of mutual aid and frequent parties, neighbors do not feel a strong commitment to each other or feel they have much in common.

Racial discrimination is the foremost factor accounting for the lack of cohesion in the Negro ghetto. Because their race has always been associated with low status in American society, Negroes have not developed a strong sense of racial pride or identity. They have internalized the low status conferred upon them by the larger society and have projected it onto themselves and other members of their race. Though bitter and resentful of the outside world, they have accepted its standards and values and turned their hostility inward towards members of their own community and race.

The weakness of the ghetto community is reminiscent of the Puerto Rican housing project described in the previous chapter. Like Puerto Rican project residents, the Negro poor feel alienated from the larger society and express a strong hostility toward outsiders, who they feel exploit them and maintain their subordinate social status. However, the hostility of Puerto Rican project residents is still voiced in class terms, while the opponents of the Negro poor include most of white society. Negroes suffer the stigma, not only of poverty, but of an oppressed minority which has never enjoyed equality in American society. The impact of these differences on the family life of the Negro and Puerto Rican poor will be examined in the next two chapters.

Chapter V

THE PUERTO RICAN LOWER CLASS FAMILY

It is now an accepted axiom of family research that the roles of family members are affected by their status in the larger society. The parents' authority over their children, the woman's independence of her husband, and the stability of the conjugal relationship, are all affected by extrafamilial relationships which bolster or detract from traditional family roles. (Cf. Bott 1956).

In this chapter we shall describe family life in the shanty town and note the changes which occur as the Puerto Rican poor move into public housing. We shall stress the impact of the man's role in the community on his authority in the family. We shall attempt to show that the man in the shanty town plays a peripheral but established role in family relations. He is primarily oriented toward the outside world, while his wife turns her attention inward toward the home and children. The greater intensity of participation by females in the functioning of the household and of the kin group tends to give a matrifocal emphasis to family structure in the shanty town.

In public housing, this matrifocal emphasis is reinforced through the weakened role of the man in family and community life. The reduced authority of the father in the family is reflected in greater marital instability and an increase in the emphasis on the peer group among adolescents. As a result, the project family is even less capable of assimilation into the larger society. Relocation in public housing, instead of improving the family's socio-economic position, reinforces their isolation from the larger society and hinders their opportunities for upward mobility.

The Conjugal Relationship in the Shanty Town Family

The predominant type of household composition in the shanty town consists of the nuclear family of parents and children. (Table 23). At first glance, this would appear to conform to the notion of Wirth and others that extended kin relations break down in the urban milieu. (Wirth 1938).However, it is necessary to look beyond the individual household for the kinship network in the shanty town. Since well over half of the shanty town family sampled have relatives living in the immediate neighborhood (Table 12), the effective social unit in these cases tends to be the kin group rather than the individual household. Thus, Doña Lourdes' daughter lived in a house in back of her mother with her husband and two children, but spent much of her time at her mother's home and usually cooked her meals there. (Her mother had a better kitchen). Similarly, Doña Ana's niece and her children spent days at Doña Ana's house and eventually moved in across the street to be closer. Separate residence would seem to be more an expression of loosening economic rather than social bonds. Nuclear families may have separate incomes and expenditures (though they constantly help each other out), but still operate as a tightly-knit social unit. Though neo-local residence is preferred, newlyweds sometimes move in with the parents of the bride or groom because of difficulties in finding and financing a house of their own. The girl's parents are usually preferred to avoid possible conflict between the bride and her mother-in-law. A girl commonly has built up a close pattern of cooperation with her own mother which can be easily continued after marriage. But shortage of space in shanty town households is also a decisive factor in determining residence patterns--and in accounting for the predominance of nuclear families. When Doña Lourdes' son married, for example, she set aside one bedroom for the young couple and they shared other facilities with the rest of the family. Dona Lourdes owned a six room house while the bride's mother lived alone in a rented room. Even before her marriage the girl spent most of her time in her mother-in-law's house helping with the housework.

A church ceremony is generally preferred and over half of the respondents sampled report that their first marriage took place in church. (Table 45). Only 29 percent of the Peloterenos sampled. claim to have started out in consensual unions, which is much lower than the figure Mintz cites for the rural proletariat (Mintz 1956: 375). Consensual unions appear to be more unstable than civil or church marriages. Not only has the first union often dissolved, but it has been followed by as many as two, three, or in the case of one man, four additional unions, usually also contracted on a consensual basis. (Table 45).

As Smith has indicated, common-law marriage is a symbol of class differentiation and lower class status (Smith 1956: 181), which many Peloterenos are anxious to shed. Thus legal marriage, and especially an elaborate church ceremony is looked upon as a means for validating higher status both in the shanty town and in the larger society. However, a wedding with all the trimmings is a very expensive undertaking which only the more prosperous families in the shanty town can afford. A new wedding gown may cost as much as $150 and even rentals may run to $50 and $60. The price of the gown and the priest, who is paid from $25 to $50, should be met by the groom, while the bride's family is responsible for the fiesta following the church ceremony, usually held at her home. A cake purchased at the bakery may cost $15 and beer and other refreshments must also be served. Capias, little pins with the names of the newlyweds inscribed on a slik ribbon, are distributed among the guests. At particularly elaborate affairs, a photographer may be hired and even honeymoons in a moderately priced hotel have become fashionable.

A bride is expected to weep at her wedding. Shortly before the newlyweds take leave of the wedding party, she customarily bursts into tears and is at once surrounded by female friends and relatives who try to comfort her. "Sabe lo que la espera" (She knows what awaits her) remarekd one woman wryly.

K. Wolf has attempted to explain such outbursts as signs of submission to men. (Wolf 1952: 414). Women are not expected to show any interest in or derive any pleasure from the sexual act. One of my female informants observed that intercourse is terrible for a woman until she becomes accustomed to it, which usually takes about nine days. During this time, she is not supposed to leave the house so that no one but her husband may see her. Some men, my informant continued, are patient and gentle on the first night but many are interested only in satisfying their own desire.

Fear of sex is built up in the female throughout the socialization process and she is taught to guard her virginity as a precious possession. Thus the wedding tears may also be interpreted as a validation of virginity, as proof that the bride has never experienced sexual intercourse before. Despite fairly careful chaperoning, premarital sexual relations of course do occur and at one wedding of a shanty town couple which I attended, the bride was already four months pregnant. No mention was made of the fact and the wedding took place with a gown, cake, and all the other paraphernalia. In this case, however, the minister was Protestant and the service was conducted in a private home. There is usually an attempt made to cover up premarital pregnancies by marriage or consensual union as soon as possible. Contrary to other areas of the Caribbean, it is not common for a girl to have children while still residing in her parent's home. (R. Smith 1960: 70). Even if the union is not sanctioned by a civil or religious ceremony, the man is expected to show his good faith by providing the woman with a home. Joint residence rather than sexual relationships signifies the start of a permanent conjugal union.

Children are genuinely loved and both husband and wife look forward to the birth of their first child. Child-rearing is the essential function of the shanty town household and children are the strongest bond between a man and his wife. A woman without children cannot fulfill her female role. Doña Ana, whom sickness had left sterile, had taken in five hijos de crianza or adopted children (four of them nieces and nephews). Her neighbor continually deplored the fact that she had only two children after three had died in childbirth; in a sense she blamed herself for her husband's infidelity, since she could not be a complete woman (una mujer completa) for him. Don Lucho objected to his wife being sterilized or using other contraceptive devices on the grounds that she then would cease to be a woman ("deja de ser mujer"). His wife, after giving birth to her eighth child, simply put her faith in God that this would be the last.

Pregnancy does not draw a woman closer to her husband; on the contrary, she becomes increasingly dependent upon her own kin group, especially her mother. The birth of a child reinforces the bond between mother and daughter. If it is her first child, the daughter will consult her mother on what she is to eat and how she is to prepare for the baby. If the birth occurs at home, the mother or other female relatives will usually be present to assist the comadrona or midwife. Births now take place more frequently in the hospital, but even then female relatives or neighbors are on hand to tend to the household and to the children until the woman regains her strength.

Pregnant women expect to be indulged in all sorts of peculiar food cravings (antojo) which, as K. Wolf has pointed out, may imply a real sacrifice to people living on a subsistence level. (K. Wolf 1952: 405). Some cravings appear to reflect repressed sexual desires, stemming probably from the fact that a woman is supposed to be a passive participant during the sexual act. For example, cases were cited to me of a woman who wanted to chew her husband's ear and of another who craved for the top of her husband's head. These cravings may also represent a repressed hostility against the man, which is expressed through bodily mutilation. Women complain constantly about the man's irresponsibility--he drinks, doesn't work, runs around with other women, etc. Pregnancy is one of the few times they can demand some recognition and obedience.

A woman cannot expect much help from her husband in household chores. A rigid division of labor marks the lower-class Puerto Rican household. A man may be expected to repair or paint the house, and perhaps to do the shopping, but the running of the household is left to the woman. To ask him to aid her in such tasks as cooking, cleaning, or even taking care of the children would be an affront to his masculinity or *machismo.* Don Carlos did help with some of the heavier housework like mopping the floor and was made an object of ridicule even by members of his own family. Since Doña Ana, his wife, was in many ways the more articulate member of the family, their stepchildren looked upon such behavior as further proof that he was dominated by her. Nothing is more devastating to the masculine ego than to be accused of being henpecked (*sentado en el baul* or literally, seated on the trunk).

Even in the case of Doña Ana, when asked who held the authority in her home, she answered: "*Aquí manda él, pero en cuestiones de la casa mando yo. Se supone que sea el hombre él que manda en una casa.*" (He's the boss here, but in household matters, I am. It is assumed that a man should rule the house). In other words, "it is socially prescribed that he should be the authoritarian figure in the household." (R. Smith 1960:69)

A woman would not attempt to answer for her husband or her family in official dealings with the government or other public institutions unless, of course, she is the recognized head of the household. The man represents his family in most matters relating to the outside world. This gives him a very important role in neighborhood affairs; on *barrio* committees, political parties and the housing cooperative, for example, the bulk of the membership is male.

The man's principal role in the household is to be an adequate economic provider. He may decide how much to spend on certain items and may also do the buying. For example, the man frequently makes the large weekly purchase of food (*la compra*), while the woman shops daily in one of the local *tiendas.* Whether she receives a weekly allowance or not, she seldom knows how much money he keeps for himself or how much he spends at the local *cafetin*. But as long as she and her children are provided for, she doesn't really care.

Failure of the man to provide a stable, adequate income is the most frequent reason for marital breakdown in the Puerto Rican lower class. Economic instability is onerous for both the man and woman;

for the woman, because she and her children must suffer deprivation; for the man, because he cannot fulfill his primary role as husband and father. The decision to separate is often difficult, for while there is no deep emotional bond between husband and wife, there is a value placed on stable marriage and a deep love of children. In case of separation, the children generally go with the mother because it is considered impossible for a man to care for them properly. In one case, the man suffered deeply from the loss of his children and even asked me to intercede with his wife on his behalf. But she had returned to live with her mother and nothing would alter her decision.

A woman's confidence that her parents will always take her back gives her some measure of independence. In one case, a woman even continued to live with her mother-in-law after her husband abandoned her and their children. The bond between female kin and the attachment to grandchildren may prove even stronger than the parental tie. But increasingly women have learned to support themselves through work or public welfare. Thus, Carmen, a young widow with four children, worked as a laundress to add to the $50 a month she received from public welfare. She eventually became the mistress of an older man who supported both her and her children and who insisted she stop working. (See Chapter II).

Often a woman's children are old enough so she can rely on them for support. She may move in with a married son or daughter and help care for her grandchildren. To my knowledge, there were no women living alone in the shanty town, but cases of men living alone or with other men were not uncommon. One household in Los Peloteros consisted of three elderly men related only through compadrazgo (ritual kinship), which may have been fictive to give them some sort of kin relationship; the oldest man worked and supported the other two who, though younger, were apparently more infirm. Men find it more difficult than women to keep a family together without a spouse and therefore, if their union is dissolved, may be forced to live alone (Cf. R. Smith 1956: 121). Both men and women rarely pass through life without marriage, however. All but five men in our sample had been married at least once. (Table 46).

Thus, the true matrifocal household consisting of a woman and her children without any stable father figure occurs most often in the later years of marriage, when the children are grown and no longer dependent on their parents for support. All but three of the female-based households in the shanty town are found among women who had been married twenty years or more (Table 46), many of whom are widows.[1] Early death or separation may bring about a quicker development of the matrifocal household, but many families never reach this stage and pass through life as a nuclear unit. Certainly the shanty town family is far more stable than that described for other areas of the Caribbean (Cf. R. Smith 1956; Blake 1961), or even than the project family to be discussed presently. Matrifocality in the shanty town consists primarily in the strong emotional bond between a woman, her children, and her female kin group. This bond is reinforced through the socialization process described in the next section.

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[1] Divorce is rare in the Puerto Rican lower class, since couples may live together consensually without the benefit of legal marriage, making divorce unnecessary when they separate. Even if a couple is legally married, a man may live in consensual union with another woman because of the expense and difficulty involved in obtaining a legal divorce.

The Socialization Process in the Shanty Town

We have already emphasized the fact that the shanty town family functions largely as a child-rearing unit. Given the strong segregation of conjugal roles, the emphasis is not on the emotional satisfaction which husband and wife derive from each other, but on the satisfaction which both derive from their children.

Urban lower-class families in Puerto Rico seem somewhat smaller than the rural norm. (Cf. Landy 1959: 27). Few Pelotereño households contain more than five children under eighteen, and the average number is three (Table 4). This includes hijos de crianza or adopted children, a fairly common form of child-rearing in the shanty town. Adoptions are rarely legalized. The children retain their parents' name and, if the latter are still alive, may see them regularly. Thus, Doña Ana had adopted her adolescent niece as a baby and though the niece continued to live with her aunt, she helped her mother daily in her household chores. She always addressed her aunt as tía, but Doña Ana referred to her niece as her daughter. Adoptions are largely limited to relatives' children, but in cases where the mother has died or is considered unfit, children of neighbors or compadres (ritual kin) may also be taken in. One woman even claimed her mother had nursed the son of her comadre when the latter died, at the same time that she was nursing her own daughter. She claimed it was customary for women to act as wet nurses for female kin or friends who lacked milk, though it would seem that bottle-feeding is now an easier substitute.

The shanty town child is surrounded by many adults from the time of birth. We have seen how female relatives and neighbors, and especially maternal grandmothers, will come to the aid of a woman at the birth of a child. The first-born is often more attached to its own mother, particularly if the child was born in the maternal grandmother's home. One girl in Los Peloteros spent every summer with her grandmother though she lived only a few blocks away. She had been born while her parents still lived in the maternal home and the grandmother took care of her as a baby. The mother expressed no jealousy or resentment at her daughter's attachment. On the contrary, she commented on it admiringly.

Modern child-rearing practices have not permeated the shanty town to any great extent. Expensive infant furniture such as playpens, high chairs, and carriages are totally alien to the shanty town, and even items like diapers and shoes and socks for the infant are found only in the most affluent families. Most women still breast feed their children and even bottle feeding is seldom kept on schedule. Children are generally given sponge baths since no families have tubs, although they may buy a plastic bowl for the baby. The traditional belief in mal de ojo or evil eye persists and infants commonly wear charms, usually small black hands, around the wrist or pinned to their garments. Beauty and intelligence make a child more susceptible to evil eye. Doña Lourdes' daughter, who had lived in New York, told me her oldest boy was so beautiful she hardly dared to take him to events where other Puerto Ricans would be present. She claimed that Americans were not so dangerous since they were not believers in mal de ojo. The fear of envy thus seems directed primarily at the in-group; in fact, close friends and even relatives are considered more harmful than strangers.

A child should be baptized as shortly after birth as possible. As in the rural lower class, there are two forms of baptism practiced in Pelotereño families, the bautizo de agua (by water) and the bautizo de pila (by baptismal font). Some children reportedly reach the age of 10 or 12 before receiving the bautizo de pila, which is generally postponed until the family is able to afford the cost of a church ceremony and the accompanying celebration. The bautizo de agua, held at home without benefit of clergy (perhaps with holy water stolen from the church), is deemed sufficient to save the child's soul in case of death.

Sex differentiation starts from the moment of birth or even conception. For example, the milk of a pregnant woman is considered harmful to the nursing child if the fetus be of the opposite sex. Since the sex of the fetus is unknown, nursing must terminate anyway, in which case the mother usually switches to bottle-feeding. Sex differentiation can also be noted in modesty training which begins much earlier for girls than for boys. Boys may run naked or with just a shirt until school age, and a mother often plays with the penis of her infant son. Girls, however, should not expose their genitals at any age. The father of a six-month old girl was embarrassed at her nudity during my visit and ordered his wife to cover her, but the presence of his naked four and five-year old sons did not seem to bother him in the least.

Girls are much more sheltered than boys. They seldom go anywhere without their families and are expected to stay at home, helping their mother in her household tasks. Girls are initiated into their child-rearing role at an early age and it is quite customary to see a five-year old girl carrying her infant sibling.

In fatherless families, older daughters often assume even more authority and responsibility since their mothers often work to support the family and are away most of the day. Berta, for example, at the age of eleven had already assumed the role of mother-substitute for her younger sisters. She took care of them while Carmen, her widowed mother worked and assisted her mother in cooking, cleaning and other household chores. Berta did not seem burdened by her reponsibilities. She was a very bright child and liked to show what she could do. She often organized games among the other children in the neighborhood, which allowed her to develop her leadership abilities and also to extend her authoritative mother role to the neighborhood group. But she had no control whatsoever over her two older brothers who were rarely at home.

Boys are expected to be more difficult to control than girls and their whereabouts are rarely questioned as long as they keep out of trouble. They appear for meals and then vanish again to join their friends for a game of baseball or a swim. Jumping off the Martín Peña bridge into the polluted waters of the Channel is a favorite sport and no amount of admonition by parents seems to do any good. Like his father, the shanty town boy is not expected to assume household chores which are traditionally a woman's responsibility. Hacer mandados or running errands is his chief duty. As an adolescent he may begin to earn a few pennies shining shoes or selling newspapers but this does not compare to the contribution made by girls.

Sons as well as daughters are more attached to their mother than to their father (Table 48). The father is away from home most of the time. He seldom plays with his children, he doesn't work with his sons in the fields, he doesn't teach them a trade. He has no property to pass on to his children like the man in the peasant household. There is little demonstration of affection between father and son. If anything, the father will be more inclinded to caress and fondle his daughter, because it does not detract from his machismo or from her femininity. But the boy must learn to behave as a macho, and may be ridiculed for any feminine behavior. One young boy in Los Peloteros was teased by his companions for playing with dolls and an umbrella. A neighbor noted that it was important to correct such girlish behavior in boys at an early age or they would not grow up to be machos.

Children are expected to start acting like little adults at an early age and gradually grow into the full realization of their adult role. Little boys are affectionately addressed as papito (little father) and little girls as mamita (little mother). Role expectations change with the child's age and growing capacity to assume more responsibility. A common explanation for a child's failure to do something expected of him or for his getting into mischief is "no tiene capacidad" literally he hasn't the capacity or he isn't old enough to understand. There is no sharp break between the world of the child and the world of the adult. From birth onwards children are incorporated into the family's social life, accompanying their parents to weddings, baptisms, or visits to relatives. Even if the affairs last late into the night, the children remain and no one is disturbed when they fall asleep on the sofa or on their mother's lap.

Children's play is generally based on an imitation of adult life. Thus, after a wedding in the shanty town, Berta and her friends turned on the radio and danced like they had seen the adults do the night before. A few of the younger boys were persuaded to join them. There is little organized team play in the shanty town except for the baseball team and a few children's games learned in school. Pelotereño families can scarcely afford to buy their children elaborate toys but they improvise with whatever is available. An old inner-tube becomes a raft for floating in the water, empty soda bottles serve as musical instruments and young children substitute as dolls.

In play as in other areas of a child's life, the distinction between' the sexes is emphasized far more than the difference in age. Play groups may include children from three years of age through elementary school, but they are generally of the same sex. The same pattern can be observed among groups walking to school or gathering in front of a store. When teenagers get together, boys concentrate at one end of the room and girls at the other. The socialization process thus emphasizes the strong segregation of conjugal roles found among adults.

During adolescence boys spend most of their time with the peer group. Little cliques of teenage boys from the same neighborhood meet regularly at the same corner or *tienda* (store). As in the rural area, they may belong to the same baseball team, go to dances and drink together, and generally help each other out. (Seda 1958: 82). But teenagers are not isolated from the rest of the neighborhood as a separate group. There is no "adolescent culture" in the shanty town. Pelotereños complain of a loss of parental control and undoubtedly children in the shanty town today enjoy greater freedom and independence than children a generation ago. But many traditional forms of respect for adults have been carried over from the rural area. Children are forbidden to pass in front of an adult or to interrupt an adult conversation without permission. Upon meeting an older relative, they commonly ask for *bendición*. (blessing). Above all, children are forbidden to question their parents' word. If they are told to do something, they must obey without discussion. Children who try to defend their viewpoint are thought to lack *respeto* (respect) and must be punished.

Discipline is more severe for boys than for girls, but as we have seen, girls are also under closer surveillance. The mother generally administers punishment, particularly to her daughters, (Table 49), but appeals to the father when her own actions prove ineffective. Even the most common instrument of punishment, a man's belt, symbolizes his authority as disciplinarian. The man's marginal position in the family actually aids him in fulfilling this function. His word and authority are more effective because they are not subject to the conflicting emotions arising out of the more intense mother-child relationship.

Where no father is present, the disciplinary structure of the family is considerably weakened. The mother often has difficulty handling her children, particularly adolescent boys. Thus, when Carmen's thirteen-year old son hit another boy in the neighborhood and was taken to court, his mother asked that he be placed in the Juvenile Home because she could not manage him. However, recourse to institutional controls is rare, even in fatherless families. There is often another adult relative living in the neighborhood--a brother, cousin or her own father--who can act as a father substitute for the children. Even the maternal grandmother may assume the role of disciplinarian.

In addition, the Pelotereño child has many adult models with which he can identify. He is not confined to the family because the neighborhood plays a very important part in the rearing of Pelotereno children. The intensity of socializing among adults carries over to the children. Boys and girls usually play together and go to school in groups. In the evening, they may gather in one of the neighbor's houses to watch television. If they are hungry, they are fed. Neighbors will rush to comfort a crying child, picking him up and caressing him. They will try to entice him out of a temper tantrum with a bright, new penny or a *lindbergh* (flavored ice cube). They may ask a neighbor's child to run to the store for a small item. They also do not hesitate to scold a naughty child, though physical punishment is generally reserved to members of the family. As among the rural proletariat, "the community thus becomes a huge extended family, a place where the child does not feel strange and alone." (K. Wolf 1952: 417).

Thus while the shanty town family is primarily a child-rearing unit, it is not child-centered. Children are integrated into the life of the family and of the community and are not shut away in a world of children and the peer group, as in many project households. Children are expected to defer to adults and to look to adults as models for their own role behavior. They are not rushed into adulthood, but gradually assume more responsibility as they grow older and more capable. However, the cohesion of the Puerto Rican lower class family appears to break down in public housing, as we shall see in the next section.

Family Life in Public Housing

Public housing would appear to reinforce the matrifocal emphasis found in shanty town families. This is due both to the type of families selected for public housing and to the regulations imposed upon them by project management. We have seen in Chapter III how project regulations sharply curtail the man's role in the community by giving management control of all neighborhood affairs. Public housing also weakens the man's authority in the family by curtailing his role as economic provider, as disciplinarian, and as spokesman for his family in dealings with the outside world.

As has been pointed out previously, a high percentage of fatherless families are recruited for public housing (Safa 1964: 137). These families are attracted to public housing because of their low incomes and lack of choice of alternative private housing. They also find useful the repair and maintenance services provided by public housing since they have no man in the house to take care of these things. For these reasons, fatherless families also tend to remain in public housing longer than households headed by men (Safa 1964: 137). Thus, fatherless families tend to become part of a permanent public housing population (Cf. Hartman: 8; Back 1962: 28-29).

The result is a significant increase in the percentage of female-based households in public housing as compared to the shanty town (Table 23): 35 of the households sampled in public housing are headed by females as compared to 20 in the shanty town. As in Los Peloteros, a number of these women are widows, but a higher percentage are separated from their husbands. (Table 50). Ten of the 35 female heads of households separated from their husbands after the family moved into public housing and seven of these were young women in their twenties and thirties (Safa: 138). It would appear that public housing, combined with the income provided by public welfare, has made it easier for women to separate from their husbands at an earlier age, since they are no longer dependent on the wage-earning capacity of their husbands or their children.

The man's role as economic provider in the project houshold is correspondingly weakened. Women can turn to public welfare for support and to public housing for a home for themselves and their children. It is true that the man may still be responsible for paying the rent, but rental housing does not carry the prestige or security of home ownership. In addition, tenants in public housing are subject to external controls which are deeply resented as invasions of the family's privacy. Thus, families are subject to yearly re-examinations of income to determine continued eligibility for public housing and rent payments. All changes in employment must be reported to project management, which is free to consult the employer to determine if the salary and other data given are correct. Apartments are inspected regularly and without warning, and any additional items of furniture must be accounted for in terms of the family's financial condition. For example, it is a common belief among project residents that their rent will be raised if they buy a new television set. One project resident, when asked to compare public housing with his previous residence, remarked: "Allá tenía lo mío propio y mandaba sin pagar. Aquí pago y no mando. (There it was mine and I was the boss without paying. Here I pay and I'm not the boss).

The man's role as spokesman to the outside world is also sharply curtailed. The project is staffed principally by educated middle-class women, who are responsible for most matters relating to rent collection and adjustment, maintenance and repair, group social activities, etc. Project women are often more effective than their husbands in dealing with this staff, and are not ashamed to complain as men might be. It is a violation of machismo to expose one's difficulties to a woman because it places men in a subordinate position. In addition, if they are working, men are not free during office hours.

The man in the project household does not have the authority over his children which the Pelotereño father exerts. Children see that their father plays a subordinate role in the project community and must relegate many decisions to management; therefore they lose respect for him and refuse to follow his command. Eduardo Melendez, for example, has great difficulty controlling his two older boys, and claims life in El Capitán has changed them. Eduardo maintains boys in the project are attracted to gangs and no longer love their home nor respect their parents. His wife María also accuses the project of having corrupted (decompuesto) her children. Their apartment has three bedrooms, one of which is occupied solely by the oldest son, Roberto, who insists that he have a room to himself. This forces María to share a bedroom with her three daughters and Eduardo to sleep separately in the third bedroom with Carlos and another younger son.

Neither Roberto nor Carlos finished high school and both are working, but don't contribute anything to the household expenses. On the contrary, their father often has to lend them money. Roberto is a ladies' man and spends most of his money on clothes for himself and a good time. Though only 21, he has had two illegitimate children, one with the wife of an older half-brother who lives in New York.

The oldest girl, Conchita, is also involved in an illicit sexual relationship. She fell in love with a married man and her parents sent her to relatives in New York to forget him. But after four months' absence, she returned to live with this man and is expecting a baby.

As in the shanty town, discipline is even more of a problem in fatherless families. Without a man to buttress her authority, the mother often has difficulty handling her children, especially adolescent boys. They quit school, refuse to go to work, and generally do as they please and the mother is powerless to coerce them. In desperation she may turn to management for help; she may ask the social worker to speak to her son, to help him find a job, or even to send him to the colegio, as the reform school is popularly called. When one of his younger brothers was arrested for stealing, Juan, one of my adolescent informants, came to me for help. Since this was his first offense, we were able to obtain his release on parole. Yet Juan's mother, Esmeralda, was terribly worried about the future of her children. She had struggled desperately to raise a family of nine children since her husband had left them. He left for New York six years ago and they have never heard from him since. The family depends largely on public welfare and a little laundry Esmeraldo takes in occasionally.

There appears to be greater evidence of marital instability among couples in the project than in the shanty town. This cannot be entirely attributed to the conditions of life in public housing, since it appears that the type of families recruited for public housing already have a history of marital breakup and multiple unions (Safa 1964: 138). That is, public housing ends to recruit the less stable families from the shanty town.

However, the low status position of the man in the project community and his diminished authority in the family would appear to further weaken the fragile conjugal bond. The man in the project family no longer commands the respect and obedience of his children. His wife has taken over his role as spokesman to the outside world and management intervenes in his role as economic provider. No role is left to him except as a sexual partner, a highly vulnerable bond in a culture which condones extramarital relationships for the man. Thus, when María Melendez felt incapable of continuing sexual relations with her husband, she told him to seek satisfaction elsewhere (defenderse por allá). She was a tiny, frail woman, wasted by years of drudgery and hardship. Eduardo himself suffered from stomach ulcers and constantly complained that he could find no peace at home. He finally left to live with another woman with whom he also has a child.

As in the shanty town, there is little to hold a man and wife together except their children. There is no investment in property, no status position to uphold, no deep emotional tie. Thus, Josefina has been living with Miguel in consensual union for nine years, but her three children are all from a previous union, contracted when she was fourteen years old. Miguel also has four children by a previous union, the two eldest of whom are in reform school. The two youngest live with his mother and occasionally with Josefina. Josefina complains that all she is good for is taking care of Miguel's children. He does not support the family and is rarely at home. At one point he went off to live with another woman who owned a bar, and, as Josefina says, can give him more.

(Here the roles become completely reversed and the woman becomes the economic provider). Josefina became quite angry and refused to allow him into the apartment. Her greatest weapon appears to be to refuse to sleep with him. But Miguel usually works his way back into the household and succeeds in re-establishing their tenuous relationship.

The high proportion of fatherless families coupled with the loss in the father's authority in the family has contributed to a serious problem of juvenile delinquency in the project. Boys have broken into homes and destroyed property in the surrounding upper class community. They have formed gangs which terrorize project residents and make them fearful of going out alone at night. Contrary to the shanty town, where everything is quiet by 10 p.m., project boys hang around on the street corners until all hours, disturbing other residents with their loud talking and joking.

There is a marked increase in the importance of the peer group among project boys, particularly as they reach adolescence. The peer group becomes a major source of emotional support and companionship and a model for adolescent male behavior. The social control exercised by the family and by the kin and neighborhood network in the shanty town is correspondingly weakened, resulting in a higher incidence of anti-social behavior in the project community. Much of this violence is directed against project residents themselves, while in the shanty town the close surveillance of the kin and neighborhood network forces boys to seek other areas as outlets for their aggression. Thus, Miguel's two teenage boys were interned in a progressive reform school with no gates or bars on the window and relatively few restrictions. But the boys took advantage of this freedom and were continually running home. During one of these "breaks," the younger boy became involved in a bitter brawl with another family in the project and was shot while fleeing from the police. The press accused him of being the leader of a gang attempting to assault the apartment, but residents familiar with the incident claimed it was merely a children's brawl. At any rate, the boys were sent to a stricter reformatory and put in solitary confinement.

Not all the gangs in the project are anti-social. Many simply get together like the street corner boys in the shanty town, though they are often more formally organized. Project gangs may have their own name and special style of dress, which in one group consists of peg-pants, sport shirt and vest. Their conscious imitation of what they consider mainland beatnik patterns extends to growing a beard and an enthusiasm for rock'n roll music. At their parties, however, Puerto Rican music still predominates. The following is a description of one of these teenage parties in the project, taken from my field notes:

> "There wereno adults present but the occupants of the apartment. All of the _jovenes_ (young people) were from the project and friends previously.... Except for one couple who were apparently _novios_ (sweethearts), no boys stuck to any girl. There was constant mixing and the girls rarely stayed with a boy beyond one dance. The girls were quite dressed up as usual."[1]

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[1] There is a striking similarity between this description and an account of a teenage dance at a suburban amusement park in Syracuse (Safa 1966: Case Study #2, p. 248).

Evidently the emphasis on the peer group in the project has produced a new style of adolescent culture patterned closely on mainland models. Even the concept of a teenage party is alien to the shanty town, where social life still centers around the family. In the project, however, adolescents have few meaningful relationships with adults and spend most of their time with each other. There is a shift away from identification with Puerto Rican personalities toward identification with mainland idols, ranging from Eisenhower to Elvis Presley. (Table 5). Girls dress in pedal pushers with their hair up in curlers, while boys display flashy jackets with Red Devils or Black Scorpions painted on the back. Copying the teenage courtship patterns of East Harlem, couples walk down the street, his arm around her shoulders, hers around his waist. In Los Peloteros, any public display of affection is frowned upon and girls who are seen unchaperoned in the company of young men soon acquire a dubious reputation.

Some parents view the greater freedom and independence of children in the project as a change from traditional authoritarian patterns toward more egalitarian family relations. Thus, a greater percentage of project parents feel that children should be allowed to defend their viewpoints and simply accept the mandates handed down by their elders (Table 5). One father in El Capitán commented: "Antes a los padres lo que se le tenía no era respeto era miedo. Ahora es poco lo que respetan pero no les tiene tanto miedo." (Before parents were not respected, they were feared. Now they have little respect but they are not so feared). Another father added: "Yo creo que el padre en ciertos caso se puede convertir en un amigo y debe darle oportunidad al hijo, para que hable y pregunte." (I believe that the father in certain cases can become a friend and should give his son an opportunity to speak and question). Too often, however, the greater freedom and independence of project children is due to a breakdown of authority in the family, particularly in terms of the father, rather than to an increased awareness of the child's individuality.

The project is certainly more open to modern, acculturative influences from the mainland than the shanty town. The changing patterns of authority within the family and the new adolescent subculture are not the only examples. Project adolescents tend to have higher educational aspirations than shanty town adolescents, the majority of whom would be content with a high school education. (Table 27). Many project adolescents would like to have more than a high school education and over 30 percent of the boys interviewed would like to hold professional occupations like a lawyer, doctor or engineer (Table 11). However, in terms of the actual educational achievements of project children, these aspirations appear grossly unrealistic. Among adolescents interviewed in both the project and the shanty town, over one-fifth had already dropped out of school. (Table 27). The 1960 census figures for the project are even more alarming; nearly half of the adolescents between 14 and 19 years of age have left school.[1]

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[1] Special tabulation based on 1960 Population Census drawn up by Office of Research, Urban Renewal & Housing Administration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

The gap between aspiration and reality makes assimilation into the larger society even more difficult. The project population is more aware of middle class standards and of status differences between themselves and the rest of the society. They are not content with the small success symbols upon which the Peloteréño sets his sights. They want a college education, a professional job, an expensive home. But most people in the project are incapable of achieving their goals and therefore resign themselves to a life of bitterness and frustration. By setting their goals too high, they doom themselves to failure at the outset and only increase their sense of helplessness and futility.

Conclusion

The basic culture patterns of the shanty town and project family in Puerto Rico are very similar. In both, we find a strong segregation of conjugal roles, manifested in a rigid division of labor in the household and perpetuated through the sharp sexual differentiation in the socialization process. Men and women in both neighborhoods have strong non-conjugal ties, women with their female kin group and men with friends and neighbors. Thus, we do not find the emphasis on the conjugal relationship that is characteristic of middle-class nuclear families who are isolated from kin and neighborhood networks. The intense and exclusive emotional bond between husband and wife in the middle class is dispersed among a wider group of extended kin and neighbors.

It was hoped that by dislodging families from the old kin and neighborhood network of the shanty town, project families would be forced to stand on their own and develop a stronger nuclear family structure. However, the basis for a stable conjugal relationship was lacking; if anything, marital relationships in the project tend to be even more brittle than in the shanty town. Without the support provided by the network of relatives, neighbors and friends, families appear to fall apart and become more dependent on outside agencies like public welfare and project management.

The weakness of the project family lies primarily in the subordinate role played by the man in family and community life. The man in the shanty town occupies a peripheral but established position in the household. As economic provider, disciplinarian and spokesman to the outside world, he is the undisputed head of the shanty town household. His work on barrio committees and in the maintenance of social control adds to his authority and prestige. In short, by confining his activities largely to the local community, he has been able to retain an important role in family and neighborhood life.

The local community has little significance for a man in the project. It does not offer him positions of authority or prestige, or close friends, or even a home he can call his own. He must ask management to repair a broken window, or reduce his rent payments, or reprimand a noisy neighbor. Within the home his authority has also diminished. His wife and children are no longer dependent on him for a home and they can turn to public welfare for support. His wife may become the spokesman to project management and may even threaten to report him to management or the police if he mistreats her or the children. His children see the subordinate role he is forced to play in family and community life and his power as a disciplinarian is lost.

The result is not a stronger nuclear family structure, but a reinforcement of the traditional matrifocal emphasis found in the shanty town family. The mother-child tie in project families remains relatively intact. Women may have greater disciplinary problems, particularly with older boys, and tend to rely more heavily on outside agencies for control, such as the social worker or the truant or probation officer. In some cases where the father is absent, an older child assumes the role of head of the household and the mother may even defer to his authority. But the mother continues to have a strong influence over the children and to command their loyalty and devotion.

This type of family structure does not enhance the family's possibilities for upward mobility. By weakening the role of the father and his authority over his wife and children, public housing has made it more difficult to develop a stable family life in the Puerto Rican lower class. The conjugal bond is looser and ties between the generations have also begun to break down, as adolescents have turned from their families to the peer group as models for their own behavior. The family is no longer a cohesive unit, as in the shanty town, but survives on the basis of the strong mother-child tie. In American Negro lower class families, even the mother's role has been attenuated. We shall examine the family structure of the Negro urban poor in the next chapter.

Chapter VI

FAMILY LIFE IN THE NEGRO GHETTO

In our discussion of the Puerto Rican lower class family, we emphasized the role of the man in the household and how this is affected by his status in the local community and in the larger society. Among the Negro poor, our emphasis will shift to the woman's conceptualization of her role in the family, since this would appear to be a crucial element in determining the type of family structure which develops in this ethnic group. Where the woman views her wife-mother role as primary, as in the Puerto Rican lower class, she occupies a strong, central role in the family and acts to maintain family cohesion and stability. However, where she abandons this role and pursues individual interests at the expense of her family's welfare, family stability is threatened. This would appear to be the case among many of the Negro low-income families studied here.

In this chapter, we shall attempt to describe the nature of Negro family life in the northern ghetto, concentrating, as in the Puerto Rican materials, on the conjugal relationship and socialization patterns. Our main object will be to examine the influence of certain child-rearing practices and patterns of conjugal relationship on the Negro's possibilities of upward mobility and assimilation into the larger society. It would appear that a stable home environment is the best support any child can receive from his parents. Upwardly mobile children are unlikely to come from disorganized homes which offer little emotional security. The factors contributing to stability and instability among the Negro poor will be analyzed below.

The Conjugal Relationship

The pattern of conjugal relations in the Negro lower class is set during the courtship stage. As in the middle-class, we find during adolescence a shift in orientation away from the family and the one-sex peer group toward a growing interest in the opposite sex. Girls become more conscious of being attractive to men. They lie in the sun in scanty bathing suits or hang around construction sites flirting with the workers. By making themselves attractive and available, girls often take the initiative in establishing relationships with the opposite sex. Contrary to Puerto Rico, there is no ideal in the Negro lower class of the shy, submissive female who is the victim of the man's desires. Rather, in all her relationships with men, the female is an active, even aggressive partner.

Girls usually date several boys at the same time. Couples often live in the same neighborhood and sometimes even in the same housing project. Frequently, they have a common core of mutual friends through whom the initial contact is made. After a boy and girl start seeing each other, they still spend most of their time with this group and rarely go out alone. Even when the relationship becomes more serious, and the couple are "going steady", they spend a great deal of their time in the company of the peer group.

There is little relationship to adults. Girls as well as boys usually learn about sexual intimacies from their peer group or older brothers and sisters rather than from their parents. Mothers attempt to warn their daughters about the problems of premarital pregnancy and one girl complained that she was ready to leave home because she was tired of hearing her parents call her a whore. She claimed that, whenever she came home a little late, they told her she was bad and that she would end up with a baby and no husband.

Because of the tension between parents and adolescents in many low-income families, girls often marry just to leave home. Both Lisa and Rachel married at age 15 because they were not happy at home. Couples often think of marriage as early as age 15 or 16, and in Park project as a whole, 78 percent of the women interviewed had married before the age of 20 (Table 54). Of course, many of these women are southern Negro migrants, and early marriage reflects their rural origin and low socio-economic background.

Frequently, a marriage is forced by pregnancy. For example, Dolly had already given birth to her baby when she and the father of the child were married. Dolly's mother objected to the father because he drank and swore at her and Dolly. She refused to give her consent to the marriage as long as Dolly was under 18. However, unlike many Negro girls, Dolly did not hold a grudge against her mother because of her actions. She continued to visit her mother daily, and the mother helped take care of the baby. Parents usually withdraw or soften their opposition to an early marriage or a rejected spouse once a child is born. In fact, relationships between parents and children often improve after the children have married and established homes of their own. It appears that parents then feel less responsibility for their children and can afford to be more relaxed in their attitude toward them.

Marriage often means that girls merely exchange the tyranny of their parents for the tyranny of their husbands. Newly married men are often very jealous of their wives particularly if they know they have had sexual relations before marriage. Thus, Lillie Ann became pregnant in the tenth grade, when she was dating both Mitch and another man, who was the father of the child. She did not marry the baby's father and she lost the baby. However, though she and Mitch have now been married three years, he continues to be very strict with her. For example, Lillie Ann couldn't even go to the store without telling her husband. If she wasn't in when he came home, she usually got a beating upon her return. Mitch didn't even like her to visit with the neighbors or go to her mother's house without his permission. On the other hand, Mitch spent much of his time away from home and never offered any explanation. If Lillie Ann asked him where he had been, he became angry and hit her.

Lillie Ann was also required to submit to Mitch's sexual desires whenever he wished. According to her, they usually had sexual intercourse every night, whether she wanted to or not. She claimed he looked on her as his property, to do with as he pleased. On one occasion, the doctor had advised Lillie Ann not to have sexual relations for a few weeks because of a recent miscarriage. Mitch forced himself on her, and she recalled: "I just laid there like a log while he went ahead and did what he wanted to, and because I did not help, he beat my ass."

A great deal of emphasis is placed on sexual relations in marriage, particularly among young married couples. Lillie Ann has been pregnant twice, but both times the baby miscarried. Mitch blames this on her former miscarriage, but his beatings may also be responsible. He wants a child badly, and when Lillie Ann first was pregnant, he was very kind to her. He helped with the housework, did the shopping, and told her he would give her anything she wanted if she had a baby for him. But, Mitch has a violent temper, and, as we have seen, often beats Lillie Ann severely. He knocked her down during one of her pregnancies, and she began hemorrhaging a few days later.

One reason for the emphasis on sex in the marital relationship appears to be the lack of any other common interest to bind a man and a woman together. As in the Puerto Rican lower class, they seldom talk over problems of mutual concern such as the children, finances, or future plans. In Puerto Rico, the man usually makes the major decisions and the woman is forced to abide by them. However, Negro women often attempt to assert their independence by making decisions without consulting their husbands. Thus, Lillie Ann went to work to buy a new hi-fi set, and her husband beat her because he said they could not afford it. She felt that, if she earned her own money, she could do with it as she pleased.

Husband and wife are rarely seen together socially. Even in the early years of marriage, a man spends most of his leisure time in the company of old male friends at a pool-hall, a bar, or on the street corner. His wife usually stays at home playing with the children, watching television, or visiting with friends or relatives (Table 53). Women sometimes go to parties alone and do not return until the early hours of the morning. When asked if her husband objected to this, Rachel replied that he didn't like it, but wouldn't dare to beat her because she threatened to tell his probation officer. Rachel's husband had been arrested several years previously, and still was forced to observe a midnight curfew.

Some wives also "cheat" on their husbands. For example, Lisa had a reputation throughout the neighborhood for going out with other men. It is even rumored that some of her children are not by her husband. Her "boyfriends" are usually white married men whom she has met through work and most have distinctly middle-class occupations - college students, a restaurant owner, a buyer in a department store, etc. Lisa is not paid by these men, but she does receive gifts from them and they chauffeur her around town to shop or buy groceries. By proving herself attractive to these men, Lisa seems to be fulfilling her own need for status gratification. As she boasted to our observer, concerning one of the men: "I can take advantage of him, because he likes me."

Lisa's open and flagrant display of sexual infidelity was frowned upon, and neighbors looked down on her husband for putting up with such behavior. Negroes are more likely to condone illicit sexual activity in women whose husbands have died, left them, or are away temporarily. In one case in Park Homes, a man returned home after a six-year jail term to find his wife had two children by another man. Although the husband visits his wife and children daily, his wife doesn't want to live with him because of the two children she had with the other man. (She is probably also afraid of losing her ADC payments). The husband and "boyfriend" know each other and sometimes meet at the wife's house. Lillie Ann, commenting on the situation, remarked: "At least the two children were by the same man. . .He couldn't expect her to keep her drawers up for six years."

Thus, Negro women appear to enjoy more freedom than Puerto Rican women in the lower class. Negro women make major decisions regarding the family's welfare, they go to parties alone, and they may engage in extramarital relationships. The greater freedom of the female only detracts further from the subordinate role of the male in the Negro low-income household.

Lisa and Ernest R. typify many of the problems faced in Negro low-income families with young children. They have been married about six years now and already have four children. The oldest boy was born several months before they were married, when Lisa was only fifteen and in a reform school.

Ernest and Lisa lived with his grandmother when they were first married and remained there until the third child was born, at which time they secured an apartment in public housing. Lisa had lived in Park Homes as a child with her mother and two sisters. Lisa's father had deserted his family and her mother had raised the children with the assistance of public welfare. Lisa's mother, now alone, still lives in the project.

Lisa has many complaints about Ernest. She claims he doesn't make enough money to support his family adequately and she has to work to make ends meet. (See Chapter IV). She also complains that Ernest doesn't satisfy her sexually. Lisa alleges that he wants to have intercourse every night, but she tries to avoid his sexual advances as much as possible. She protested: "All he thinks about is himself, a selfish ass is what he is. He doesn't care who he hurts as long as he gets his kick. He was trying to go with me last night, but I woke up in time to stop him. He doesn't have any consideration for anyone."

It is obvious that neither partner in this marriage can give the other the emotional support he or she needs. Ernest is an immature personality and Lisa's criticism and ridicule only weaken him further. Ernest has said that Lisa makes him feel "smaller than a flea" when she reprimands him, while Lisa also laments that she "feels trapped" with no one to turn to with her problems. Lisa complains that, everytime she asks Ernest's opinion about anything, he merely tells her to do what she thinks is best. She actually wishes he would beat her, as he is always threatening to do, "just to prove he could do something right for a change."

Few couples in the Negro low-income group find deep emotional satisfaction in their marital relationships. Men remain strongly imbedded in their peer group associations formed before marriage and spend most of their time with this group rather than with their families. Similarly, women retain strong attachments to their female kin group and friends, finding only sexual satisfaction in their relationship with the opposite sex. Violent arguments are frequent and may result in the woman leaving with her children or in her turning her husband out of the house. One woman in Park Homes was observed throwing her husband's clothing out the back door as she cursed him in front of the neighbors.

However, many relationships tend to mellow as the couple grow older and accommodate to each other. They seldom approach the companionate style marriage found in the middle class, but they do grow less antagonistic. Rachel and Billy H. exemplify this type of conjugal relationship.

Rachel and Billy have been married for twelve years now and came north to the city from Georgia. Billy came first and looked for a job and a place to live, and then sent for Rachel and his son. Billy was 21 when he married and Rachel 17.

Rachel had been married at 15 to a man of 30, but that marriage lasted only a few months and she had no children with him.

Rachel and Billy have had three more children since they arrived in the city. Rachel claims they were all "accidents", that she did not want any children, and her attitude toward them would appear to confirm her assertion. According to our observer, she sleeps most of the day and just lets her children wander the streets. The two school aged children get their own lunch when they come home at noon, dress themselves in the morning, and are made to wash and iron what they wear. The oldest boy, now 11, does most of the housework, including cooking and cleaning, and has to watch the younger children when Rachel goes out. Billy gets angry at Rachel's neglect of the children and at her refusal to cook for him, but this does not make her change. She says she is not about to pay a babysitter with a "big ten year old around the house."

Rachel loves parties and she and her friends usually organize one weekly (See Chapter IV). They dance, gamble and drink; on one occasion, when Rachel was quite drunk, she feel down the stairs and hurt herself quite badly. The neighbors are always turning them in for holding noisy parties and the parties have even been raided by the police suspicious of illegal dice and card games. Billy seldom accompanies Rachel to these parties because he was already arrested for armed robbery and is now on probation.

Billy is a hard-working man, however, and seems more concerned about his children than Rachel. He now works at a foundry where he makes $75 to $85 a week. He leaves at 5 in the morning to be to work on time. He once worked at three different jobs simultaneously (two shifts and a weekend job as a bartender) and made enough money to buy a new car. But a friend borrowed the car and smashed it and the insurance would not pay the damages, so he was left without anything. He and Rachel never really think of buying a house, though Billy is very dissatisfied with the regulations in public housing. They have never been able to save any money for a down payment. Still he thinks marriage is good for a man because it makes him settle down. In his own words: "I think that maybe when a man gets married, maybe. . .he would think of saving more or something like that . . .If he were single, he's going to throw it away when he gets it."

Rachel has also worked intermittently at a series of factory jobs, but she never stays at one job very long. One factory has called her back several times, but she refused. She seems satisfied with the support Billy provides and doesn't really want much except another car. Rachel is also satisfied with her marriage. She asserts proudly that Billy is too intelligent to be jealous and that his only problem is he drinks too much. Asked if she ever thought of separating, Rachel replied: "Oh, well, you always think of it when things. . . you feel like things don't go just the way you want them to go. I think about it once in a while, but really I never left him and he never left me and that's it."

The glow of romance has faded from this relationship, but Rachel and Billy have achieved a stability not found in many marriages in the Negro low-income group. The basic reason would appear to be the man's sense of responsibility toward his family, which he expresses simply by saying "When I eat, my family eats." He has not avoided all the pitfalls to which low-income Negro males are subject: he drinks, he gambles, he has been arrested. But he works hard and has apparently been faithful to his wife, and she to him. Though neither are intensely involved in the conjugal relationship, sexual infidelity is not a major problem in this family.

Factors Contributing to Marital Breakdown in the Negro Low-Income Group

Raymond Smith has suggested that marital breakdown in low-income families is most likely to occur at a later stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group, when the woman becomes relatively independent of the man economically (R. Smith 1960: 70). At this stage, her children are old enough so that she can depend on them for support rather than on her husband. Also, it is easier for the woman to work then, since she is somewhat freed from child-rearing responsibilities.

We have shown that Smith's hypothesis generally holds true for the Puerto Rican shanty town, but less so for the housing project. (Table 48). In the case of project women, it was suggested that greater work opportunities for women and particularly the availability of support through public welfare have made it possible for marital separation to occur at an earlier age (See Chapter V.) This would also appear to hold true for the Negro lower class. In our survey sample, marital breakdown is not confined to any age group: 41.7 percent of the husbandless mothers in Park Homes are under 35 years of age. (Table 54). The higher percentage of married mothers in this young age group can certainly be accounted for by widows, most of whom are older and found in the husbandless category. We have seen in the case of Billy and Rachel that many marital relationships tend to stabilize after the couple have survived the first more difficult years of adjustment; sexual infidelity in particular becomes less of a problem as the couple grows older and less attracted to the opposite sex.

The survey data suggests that age at marriage is also not an important factor affecting marital stability in the Negro low-income group. The percentage of husbandless and married women in Park Homes who married before the age of 20 is almost identical (Table 54). Similarly, in the survey sample, the percentage of husbandless women with four or more children is substantially lower than the percentage of married women with large families[1] (Table 54). On this basis, then, the burden of a large family cannot be considered a decisive factor in marital breakdown. However, our observations would suggest that the pattern in Negro low-income families of early marriage, often prompted by premarital pregnancy and followed by several children in rapid succession does put strains upon the marital relationship. Certainly early marriage and large families make families more prone to marital instability, but we must look elsewhere for factors precipitating the actual breakdown.

One of the most important factors leading to marital breakdown in the Negro low-income group would appear to be the economic instability of the male, which makes it impossible for him to support his family adequately. We have shown in the case of the Puerto Rican lower class that the man's authority in the family rests primarily on his role as economic provider and that he may abandon his family if he is unable to fulfill this role properly (Chapter V). Negro women also expect their husbands to be adequate providers. Lisa complains constantly that Ernest doesn't make enough money and she has to work to make ends meet. Rachel flatly asserts: "I don't want to work. That's why I got married, to have somebody to take care of me."

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[1] Married women also have greater opportunities to become pregnant than husbandless women.

Negro women may also refuse to marry men who cannot be adequate providers. For example, we have seen that Willie Mae has no interest in marrying the father of her four illegitimate children because he doesn't have a steady income. He is a construction worker and earns a good salary when he works, but most of the winter he is unemployed. Instead, Willie Mae prefers to rely on the regular monthly ADC payments, which total $220 for herself and her six children (including two from a previous consensual union). Here we see how public assistance may provide an alternate source of support to women who are already dissatisfied with marriage, or reluctant to marry.

Willie Mae has no interest in marriage because, as she puts it, "I just don't trust men." She has seen how other women have suffered and been beaten by their husbands and maintains, "I just couldn't put up with that. I can hear enough right here." Thus, another factor promoting marital instability in the Negro low-income group is the harsh treatment often experienced by wives at the hands of their husbands who are suspicious and jealous and beat them for any reason. As Lillie Ann confessed to our observer after one of her frequent beatings: "Lucy, he can't love me because you don't hurt what you love." Lillie Ann has often thought of leaving Mitch, but he will not agree to a divorce.

Perhaps the major factor contributing to marital breakdown in the Negro low-income group, however, is sexual infidelity (Cf. Rainwater 1966: 20-21). Infidelity is also a factor in marital breakdown in the Puerto Rican lower class, but with the distinct difference that infidelity is usually confined to the man. In Puerto Rico a strict double standard is still generally observed, permitting the man to engage in extra-marital affairs but severely chastizing the woman for illicit sexual activity. Even court sentences are relatively light for men who murder their wives for having sexual relations with another man; Dona Ana's brother, for example, was released on parole after serving less than ten years of a life sentence for killing his wife when he found her in bed with another man. Such a code in effect guarantees the family a minimum of stability by severely restricting the sexual freedom of the female, and thus insuring the continued maintenance of the mother-child tie.

Sexual infidelity on the part of women is particularly destructive of family stability because of the effect it has on the children. Lisa, for example, is deeply resentful of her mother's promiscuous behavior when she was a child, and even claims her mother had her sent away to reform school to reduce competition. Lisa insists her mother was jealous of her and resented her presence in the company of male visitors. Nevertheless, while Lisa is conscious of her mother's neglect, she is repeating the same pattern with her own children. Like her mother, she rebukes her children when they come to her for comfort or attention. Like her mother, she goes out with white men and leaves the children unattended. Lisa has even locked the children outdoors while she entertained men in her apartment. As a result, her children experience the same feelings of neglect she suffered as a child.

Negro women apparently do not place the emphasis on the wife-mother role that was observed among Puerto Rican lower-class women. Lisa is not the only example. We have also observed how Rachel goes out to parties and leaves her children unattended. Willie Mae's children are left alone a great deal and often wander the streets late at night. Many Negro women seek gratification in the world outside the family, through parties and boyfriends, or expensive furniture and clothes, rather than through their role as wives and mothers.

This difference in the role orientation of Negro and Puerto Rican lower class women rests partly on the attitude toward marriage and the value placed on the conjugal tie in the two groups. The Puerto Rican woman does not have a deep emotional bond to her husband, but she places considerable stress on the permanence of the conjugal tie because of its importance for the family's welfare. Therefore, she strives to avoid conflicts which endanger her marital relationship and even suffers ill treatment at the hands of her husband in order to keep the family together. Her status in her own eyes and in the eyes of the community depends on her successful enactment of the wife-mother role. To quote a study from the rural area of Puerto Rico:

> "To be a good wife and mother is the only socially acceptable role for the woman in Manicaboa (rural farm area). . .A woman must accept children, and nothing in her attitude towards childbearing and childrearing should raise any question regarding her wholehearted acceptance of this role."(K. Wolf 1952:215).

The Negro woman, however, appears to define her role somewhat differently. Even in the South, she often worked to help support the family while the grandmother or other female kin took care of the children (Frazier 1939). She did not define her wife-mother role as primary because there was someone else in the household to take on this function. The continuity of the family depended on the stability provided by the female kin group, rather than on the maintenance of the conjugal tie. Men were seen primarily as sexual partners, and not as stable sources of income or as important elements in the child-rearing process. The Negro lower-class woman, therefore, is less bound by the conjugal tie and more likely to break away if she is disappointed in the marital relationship. Lisa threatened on several occasions to leave the children with their father and go to work in another city. Another woman in Park Homes had abandoned her husband and two children and gone to live in New York City; she never wrote to the children, though she did turn up for her son's graduation after he asked her to come. We will recall that in the Puerto Rican lower class, if a marriage broke up, the woman generally took the children because it was considered impossible for the man to care for them properly (Chapter V).

The Negro lower-class woman in the North often lacks the support provided by the female kin group in the South. In many cases, kin have been dispersed through migration, with part of the family remaining in the South while the rest have come North. Billy has two sisters in the South whom he hasn't seen in three years; his mother came to the city just a few months ago and is living with his cousin. Rachel's mother lives in Ohio and comes to see her every year, but she has a sister in Florida whom she has not seen in eight years. Lillie Ann's parents died when she was young; she has two younger brothers and a sister living in the South whom she hasn't seen since she came to the city six years ago.

Even when they reside in the same city, Negro kin do not form a cohesive group. Most of Mitch's immediate family live in the city, and his younger brothers lived with him and Lillie Ann for a while, but now he rarely sees them. Rachel's brother lived with her when he first came from Ohio, but now she never sees him.

Willie Mae doesn't even know where her brother lives in the city, and though both he and his wife are working, he has never helped her out. Willie Mae's mother used to take care of her children while she worked, but now that she has six children and is receiving ADC, the grandmother doesn't want to bother. Thus, public welfare may relieve kin of responsibility by providing alternate sources of income to women with families to support. It is not necessary for women to work if they receive public welfare. However, there is a danger that prolonged reliance on public welfare may encourage a pattern of dependency which is difficult to break. Thus, Willie Mae not only receives ADC and lives in public housing, but makes full use of every other form of charity provided in the city: surplus food, health clinics, clothing exchanges, settlement houses, and even Planned Parenthood. Her life is totally dependent on the institutions of the modern welfare state.

In cases like Willie Mae, both the economic and decision-making functions of the family are taken over by the welfare state. Thus, the social worker tells Willie Mae where she should live, what she should buy, whether she should work, and how she can avoid having more children. Likewise, Lisa claims she finds some comfort in talking to her social worker or a marriage counselor about her marital problems, although there is little they can do to help her. She complains that whenever she tries to talk to her mother about her problems, her mother begins to tell her of her own troubles. Thus the absence of strong primary group ties often forces women to seek assistance and advice in outside secondary institutions. We observed the same process take place in Puerto Rico as project families became dependent on housing management and other welfare agencies to replace the kin and neighborhood network of the shanty town. (Chapter V).

It has been argued that the strength of kin ties in the low-income group helps to weaken the conjugal relationship, because it lessens the woman's dependence upon her husband for financial and emotional support (Cf. Bott 1964: 349). However, the reverse does not necessarily hold true. That is, women who are isolated from their kin and neighborhood network do not necessarily become increasingly dependent upon their husbands. We have shown this to be true, both in the case of Puerto Rican project families, who have been dislodged from the old kin and neighborhood network of the shanty town, and in the case of Negro low-income families where the kin group has been disrupted by migration to the North and other factors. In both these cases, the disruption of the extended kin, particularly of the female kin group, often leads to greater marital instability in the lower class.

The failure to develop a strong nuclear family structure in the low-income group can be understood if we realize that there is little basis for the development of a deep emotional bond between husband and wife. A nuclear family structure is predicated upon a stable conjugal bond based on mutual confidence and understanding. We have shown that in both Puerto Rican and Negro lower-class families, husband and wife do not share a deep emotional bond. They tend to live in separate social spheres, she with her female friends and relatives and he with his male peer group. Thus, isolation from kin merely places a greater strain on the fragile conjugal relationship.

The conjugal relationship would appear to be even weaker in the Negro lower class than among Puerto Rican low-income families. Because men have never been stable providers, many women prefer not to depend upon them for a regular income. Instead, they look upon men primarily as sexual partners and find their own means of support, either through employment or public assistance. This permits them to remain financially independent of men and to drift from one relationship to another without undue strain. Women as well as men may engage in extramarital affairs and other disruptive activities. As a result, their children may never come to know any stable father figures nor do they develop very strong attachments to their mothers, who are primarily oriented toward satisfying their own needs for attention and affection. The most noticeable difference between these two types of low-income families is the strong family-centered role of the woman in the Puerto Rican family and the lack of this role definition in the Negro family.

Socio-economic factors alone cannot account for these differences, because both Negro and Puerto Rican families are poor and share a low status in the larger society. It would appear that the woman's attitude toward her family is shaped by her own family and cultural background and the social pressures she faces in the immediate environment. Negro women often lack the supportative elements in the neighborhood and kin group which are conducive to a lasting conjugal relationship. The culturally defined role of the Negro female is not confined to the home, and women are more free to seek satisfaction in the outside world. We shall examine how this affects the Negro woman's attitude toward her children in the next section.

Parent-Child Relationships

The role orientation of the woman in the low-income family is manifested not only in her attitude toward marriage and her husband, but in the care and devotion she displays toward her children. Where the woman defines her mother role as primary, she showers her children with warmth and affection and is sensitive to their needs and wants. She demonstrates her concern for her children by the amount of time she spends with them, by the interest she shows in what they are doing, and by attempting to feed and clothe them as well as possible. The mother provides the necessary emotional support for her children to develop into expressive resourceful individuals.

Many Negro mothers attempt to provide this type of support for their children. Others, however, neglect their children and give them few signs of affection or warmth. If the children cry, they are told to keep quiet. If they persist, they are spanked. Children may be sent to bed with scolding and spanking, just to get them out of the mother's way. Young children are seldom toilet-trained and walk around with dirty diapers, runny noses, uncombed hair and dirty faces. They come to neighbors asking for food, because there is nothing at home and no one there to feed them.

Children are left alone must of the time. They wander the streets alone late at night with no set bedtime and no adult supervision. Willie Mae's children knocked on our observer's door at 11 P.M. one night to ask for a piece of birthday cake. (There was a birthday party in progress). When asked what they were doing up so late, they said their mother was not at home and they went to bed whenever they were sleepy. Another young boy, when asked what he was doing out alone so late at night, explained: "My mother is never home on Saturday nights."

During the day, also, children are left alone on the streets to play for hours, being allowed into the house only to eat or to go to the bathroom. We have already reported how Lisa sometimes locked the children outdoors while she entertained her boyfriends in the apartment. Once, our observer stopped a fight between two sisters. When she asked where their mother was, our observer was told that she had left home the previous afternoon and had not yet returned. Their father didn't live at home and their younger brothers were spending the weekend with an aunt. The girls were still of elementary school age.

Illnesses are often left unattended until the children are in critical condition and have to be hospitalized. Rachel's baby daughter had not seen a physician since her six-week checkup and was finally taken to the hospital with diarrhea at eighteen months. She was very thin and could barely walk and only whimpered softly. Another baby in Park Homes was so dehydrated from a prolonged case of diarrhea that, by the time he was brought to the hospital, he was not expected to live. When the baby recovered, his mother, a very religious Negro women, remarked: "The good Lord was seeing fit not to take him away from me at this time." She did not blame herself for her neglect nor did she credit the doctors at the hospital with his recovery. This fatalistic attitude can be found among many southern migrant families who have little knowledge of modern practices of health or hygiene.

Several factors help to account for child neglect in Negro low-income families. As stated above, ignorance of modern medicines and preventive practices leads many women to take unnecessary risks with their children's health. Our observer was appalled at the lack of concern regarding contagious diseases. Sick children would not be kept apart from other children either in the home or on the street. Mother's didn't seem to know how these infectious diseases were transmitted or could be controlled.

In addition, with large numbers of children in the family, many mothers just give up. They cannot attend to all of them and give each child individual attention and affection. One young Negro woman in Park Homes had sixteen children, ranging in age from fifteen years to three months, which means she had had a child every year. Over one-fourth of the Negro families in Park Homes numbered six or more members (Table 33).

Negro women also have children very young, usually during the first year of marriage. Lisa, Rachel and Willie Mae all had their first child before they were eighteen. By the time they are in their late twenties, these women have already tired of the mother role and want to have some fun out of life. They want to go out to parties, to buy expensive clothes and furniture, to have a new car. They want the freedom they missed when they were young and already burdened with a family. Lisa expresses many woman's sentiments when she says:

> ". . .I never was a real kid. . .I never had a chance to be a kid. I never went from childhood to being a teenager. It seems as though I went from babyhood right to maturity. . .right into womanhood. It was actually too fast, because actually when I was married I didn't know why things were so. I was a kid as far as everyone was concerned. I had a child of my own when I was still a kid."

None of the birth control devices known and utilized in the Negro low-income group seems to be very effective. Women complain that the pills obtained from Planned Parenthood makes them feel ill, or that their husbands don't like them to use the Delfin cream, or that Norforms don't work. As a result, they rely largely on traditional methods of birth control like douches, prophylactics, or coitus interruptus. One couple reportedly used each prophylactic several times in order to save money. Of course one eventually tore and the woman became pregnant.

Abortion is also practiced among the Negro poor. Since the poor cannot afford the high fees of medical abortionists, they usually resort to crude home-made methods. Southern Negro women utilize various strong purgatives, and some have even resorted to bent coat hangers to puncture the womb and remove the fetus mechanically. These methods are especially dangerous if the pregnancy is far advanced. Rachel used a purgative at four months and hemorrhaged severely. She hoped to convince the staff at the hospital where she was taken that this was a normal miscarriage. Willie Mae, with her six illegitimate children, was severely critical of Rachel's actions, and said that she herself might have twenty children and yet would never try to get rid of any of them.

Children usually view the arrival of a new sibling with a mixture of pleasure and apprehension. While a new baby is always a source of excitement and wonder, children also know that a baby represents an additional burden for their mother and additional responsibilities for the other youngsters in the household. Since the mother must devote most of her time to the new child, the others are deprived of her attention and must rely on themselves much more than previously.

Sibling rivalry is particularly intense in families where the mother favors one child over another. The children compete for the mother's affection and, in their jealousy, are often quite cruel to one another. Thus, in the R. family, the children were constantly hitting each other and arguing over the toys. One child would push the other off his tricycle or take a ball away from him. Lisa never intervened in these arguments unless it was to defend the interests of her favorite, a three-year old daughter. She stated repeatedly, in front of the children, that if she were to leave her husband, this was the only child she would take with her.

Some children have developed severe emotional problems stemming from neglect and deprivation. The oldest girl in the R. family, for example, has become a petty thief and a psychopathic liar, partly as a means to attract attention. She steals money, candy, and toys from the neighbors and then claims she found the items on the street, or that someone gave them to her. Willie Mae's oldest son broke into a neighbor's apartment and damaged much of the furniture, slashing the sofa, breaking a lamp, etc. He didn't steal anything, nor did he have any apparent motive for mistreating the elderly Jewish couple who had lived in this apartment for years. It would appear that both of these children are merely acting out of anguish and despair against a world where no one seems to care for them, not even their mother.

Children do not spend much time with their families. Sometimes mothers take their younger children to the park or play a game with them on the court. In the summer some families go on picnics or for a swim at a nearby lake. They watch television together. However, in many cases the man is off at the pool hall with his friends and his wife is playing a game of cards at the neighbors, or both are off at a bar drinking. Lisa complained:

> "There's no family life, because what kind of family life can you have in housing. You're in four rooms, you've got a TV set and a radio, and maybe a hi-fi. After you get tired of those things, what is there to do. . ."

Most families cannot afford the variety of store-bought toys found in middle-class homes, so that the emphasis in play is usually on makeshift materials -- a blanket used for a tent, an old mattress for a trampoline, a blown-out bike tire for a race. Children love to play around empty boxes or old furniture and appliances left out for the junkman or garbage collector. They get into mischief by setting fire to the dumpster or stealing a cart from the supermarket. Occasionally teenagers get together for a game of softball or basketball, but there do not seem to be any organized sport activities with fixed teams of players, like the baseball team in the Puerto Rican shanty town.

Children are expected to help out at home more than most middle-class children, who spend much of their free time in extracurricular activities. Children in low-income families must care for younger siblings, feed them, dress them, and look after them outdoors. They must help with the housework, prepare meals, and wash and iron clothes. Even toddlers are sent on errands to the store or to deliver a message to a neighbor, even though this may entail their crossing dangerous streets or braving very bad weather.

The oldest child usually bears the heaviest responsibility, even if he is a boy. Both Rachel's and Willie Mae's oldest boys, aged about 11, had to care for their younger siblings, wash and iron clothes, and prepare meals. They were left in charge of the household when the parents were out. A similar pattern has been observed in the South, where the mother worked and had no one with whom to leave the children (Davis and Gardner 1941: 451-452). It would appear that in Negro low-income families there is no marked sexual differentiation in the allocation of household tasks and other socialization patterns as was noted for Puerto Rican low-income families (Chapter V). Boys are expected to carry out the same chores as their sisters, although they rarely see adult men helping out around the house or caring for younger children. This discontinuity in cultural conditioning (Cf. Benedict 1938) can contribute to severe problems of role definition for Negro boys, who already lack strong male role models. The break usually comes in adolescence, when boys rebel against their families and the duties assigned to them and simply stay away from home most of the time. They turn to the peer group to establish their male identity because this role is not supported at home.

Adolescent girls may also rebel against parental authority, in contrast to Puerto Rican low-income families where the teenage girl is a prime asset to her mother in helping with the children and household chores. Unlike Puerto Rican girls, Negro girls spend a great deal of time outside the home in the company of friends their own age. They also enjoy greater freedom with the opposite sex than the close supervision to which Puerto Rican girls are subject. Many Negro girls marry young just to escape from parental control. This may be another reason why many Negro women in the low-income group find their mother roles so unrewarding. They do not command the loyalty or devotion which mothers in Puerto Rican low-income families are accustomed to receiving from their children, especially their daughters. None of our female informants seem to be particularly close to their mothers. Lillie Ann was raised by a cousin, and Rachel by an aunt. Willie Mae seems closer to her younger sister than to her mother, and Lisa is deeply resentful of her mother's neglect of her as a child. Lisa confesses openly that she cannot love and respect her mother now because of the way her mother treated her as a child.

Children often lose respect for their parents. Children see their parents drink, use foul language, and hit each other. Parents call their children foul names like "son of a bitch" and "bastard." One teenager walked around with a black eye and our observer asked her what had happened. She explained that her mother had returned home drunk from a party and fell down the stairs. As her daughter tried to help her mother up, the mother, evidently not recognizing her daughter or her intentions, socked her in the face. The daughter laughed, but such incidents cannot help to weaken parental authority.

Children seldom make any financial contribution to the household. Boys may earn money shoveling snow, carrying groceries, delivering papers, or shining shoes. Girls usually babysit, but occasionally they take domestic jobs like cleaning, washing, or ironing. Young children were seen passing out advertising leaflets in the neighborhood and trying to sell items from door to door like homemade pot holders or old magazines. When Rachel's phonograph records were stolen after she had left her son in charge of the house, she told him he would have to go out and shine shoes to replace the loss. However, in most Negro low-income families, children pocket their earnings for their own spending money.

The peer group has replaced the home as the center of adolescent activity among the poor, especially for boys. Among Negroes, the peer group is generally confined to members of their own race drawn from the immediate ghetto neighborhood. Like relations between neighbors, peer groups relationships are characterized by reciprocity and egalitarianism. Members share the food they have, lend money to each other, and protect each other in fights with outsiders. Competition within the peer group is kept at a minimum. Most exploitative activities are directed at outsiders -- girls, shopkeepers, the police, etc. Boys may perform certain rituals like shoplifting to maintain their status within the group, but stealing from a peer group member would lead to the transgressor's expulsion. The effort is not to excel, but to be "one of the boys."

Examples of physical and sexual prowess are primary means of gaining prestige within the peer group. Boys like to brag about their sexual exploits to their friends and to compare "notes" on the sexual merits of particular females. The presence of the peer group during illicit sexual activity is not inhibiting but, like in fights, serves to add to its prestige value. As one boy explained: "You know it is so good you gotta tell somebody."

Contrary to the shanty town, neighbors often fail to restrain youngsters and prefer to let the police intervene. One fight between two teenage girls was finally broken up by the police after the crowd had followed the girls along ten city blocks. The fight had started over a boy, and one of the girls claimed: "I didn't even want her boyfriend, but I wasn't going to run after she told me she was going to beat my ass." Her boyfriend was very proud of her and bragged: "Baby, did you see my old lady last week in that boss (great) fight?"

Fist fights are frequent in the ghetto, particularly among boys. Older boys sometimes carry switchblades and slingshots. Even young children have been observed attacking one another with broken boards or leather belts. Foul language is also common, as illustrated by the following exchange between a young girl and a boy who was chasing a dog:

> Girl: Leave that God damn dog alone, you bitch.
>
> Boy: Who are you talking to, you whore. You better be glad it ain't you I'm chasing.
>
> Girl: Go fuck yourself.

Many Negro parents feel they cannot compete with the influence of the neighborhood and of the peer group on their children. Husbandless mothers are particularly likely to feel they have little control over how their children turn out as adults (Table 55). Children are taught at an early age that they must defend themselves and cannot count on pity or comfort from their parents. If one child hits another, the parent will often encourage the victim to strike back. For example, one mother told her little girl: "Don't come crying to me all the time. Take care of yourself. Go on, hit him back." Another mother watched silently as her child pulled a can opener from his pocket to attack another child. Parents seem to feel that children must grow accustomed to the violence of their environment and learn to cope with it at an early age.

The usual disciplinary agent in Negro low-income families is the mother, since she is with the children most of the time. Some mothers try to discipline their children by reasoning with them or by depriving them of certain privileges like watching television or playing outdoors. Children may be asked to clean up the damage they have done or to wash the clothes they have soiled. However, most parents resort to physical punishment to maintain discipline in the household (Table 55). Children are spanked, hit on the head or in the face, and sometimes beaten with belts or switches. As Willie Mae put it, referring to her six children: "Talking don't seem to do some kids no good. You have to whip them."

Many Negro low-income families, especially those of recent rural origin, have not yet come to accept modern methods of child-rearing which stress acceptance of the child as an individual in his own right rather than simply as a subordinate member of the household. Children are expected to be passive and obedient and to carry out orders without question. As in most Puerto Rican families, parents consider it disrespectful if a child "talks back" or attempts to defend himself in an argument with them.

This is hardly an environment conducive to upward mobility. It produces children who are passive, inhibited, and reluctant to venture into the outside world for fear of further oppression. Lacking warmth and affection at home, and facing hostility in the outside world, they see the world as a ruthless jungle based on the law of the survival of the fittest. Force and fear govern all human relations, and little pity is shown to the weak and humble. Even within the home, violence and foul language are common. The child is not encouraged, as are middle class children, to take initiative or to plan for his future. He is taught to accept the world as it is, to carry out orders given him, and to expect harsh retribution from those in authority.

Conclusions

Many writers have tended to identify family breakdown and instability with the Negro as if these were intrinsic to this minority group. The fatherless, broken, or "grandmother" family has been treated as if it were a form of Negro family organization (e.g., Herskovits 1958: 167-186).

However, more recent research has shown that the instability of the Negro family is largely a function of its low socio-economic status in the larger society (Raymond Smith, 1960; D. P. Moynihan, 1965). Frazier and Henriques, despite their contention that Negro family structure developed out of slavery, have demonstrated that, as the Negro family improves its socio-economic position, there is less family breakdown and more emphasis on a nuclear family structure (Frazier, 1939; Henriques, 1953). Raymond Smith has pointed out that many low-status groups facing severe barriers to upward mobility, whatever their ethnic or racial origins, tend to have "matrifocal" family structures (Smith, 1960: 73-75).

In this chapter we have pointed out several factors which contribute to the instability of the Negro low-income family. Negro men tend to be concentrated in unskilled, unstable jobs, which makes it difficult for them to provide adequately for their families. Because men may not be stable providers, Negro women often tend to view them primarily as sexual partners and to rely on their own employment or public welfare for support. As a result, the conjugal tie may be extremely fragile. Women as well as men may engage in extra-marital affairs or other disruptive activities. Family stability is further threatened by the weakening solidarity of the female kin group in the urban North, leaving the woman and children without the traditional support and assistance they received in the rural South.

In addition, the Negro woman appears to place less emphasis on her wife-mother role than most Puerto Rican low-income women. As in the South, the Negro woman may go to work, leaving the children at home unattended. Even if she stays home, she may not devote her attention to her children. Rather, she spends most of her time in the company of female friends and neighbors, relegating many of the household and child-rearing tasks to older siblings. She may engage in extra-marital affairs with full knowledge of the children, who are thus made to feel they are less important to their mother than her boyfriends. Maternal neglect often leads to lack of emotional security in the children, with the result that their own possibilities of rearing stable families is severely restricted. Lisa's relationship with her mother and with her own children is a good example of this.

The neighborhood also plays a less supportative role in child-rearing in the Negro ghetto than in the Puerto Rican shanty town. The ghetto cannot provide children with the security and stability of the more cohesive shanty town. Children do turn to neighbors for aid when they are hungry or sick and women do keep watch over each other's children. But neighbors fail to exercise strong authority over children and depend largely on outside agencies to maintain social control. The ghetto reflects the gap between the generations on the community as well as on the family level. The primary influence of the neighborhood on ghetto children is channelled through the peer group. Children have little relationship to adults even within their own families, no less in the neighborhood.

We do not mean to imply that all Negro families are unstable or that all Negro mothers neglect their children. Child neglect and family disorganization is by no means confined to the Negro group and undoubtedly reflects the pressures of poverty to which all low-income families are subject. However, the low status of the Negro in American society has aggravated this problem and placed a greater burden on the Negro family than on the white low-income group. We shall summarize the importance of race as a factor in the social mobility of low-income families in the last chapter.

Chapter VII

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS: POVERTY, RACE, AND ASSIMILATION

Social Isolation and Upward Mobility

In this report, we have looked at the styles of life in three types of urban low-income communities: a shanty town and public housing project in San Juan, Puerto Rico and a Negro ghetto in a northern United States city. We have attempted to analyze the factors contributing to the cohesion of the shanty town and leading to the breakdown of family and community solidarity in the public housing project and Negro ghetto. Particular emphasis has been placed on the impact of racial barriers upon the Negro's possibilities for upward mobility and assimilation into the larger society.

Our comparison has yielded many similarities in the adaptation of the poor to their marginal status in complex, urban society. Both lower class Negroes and Puerto Ricans are socially isolated from the institutions of the larger society. The urban poor are crowded into public housing projects or slum neighborhoods where they associate primarily with people of their own race and socio-economic status. They are confined to unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, usually involving manual labor, and offering little security or status. Their low incomes force the poor to shop in different stores and have different buying patterns, since they depend heavily upon credit and "easy payment plans." Few families attempt to budget or keep savings, nor can they afford luxuries except for a few items of conspicuous consumption.

The children of the poor frequently attend inferior schools and face hostile teachers who feel they cannot learn anything anyway. Parents show little interest in the type of school the child attends or in the grades he receives, and fail to support his educational and occupational aspirations. As a result, the child's aspirations are often very vague or totally unrealistic, due in part to his lack of knowledge of the outside world. Lower class children also do not participate in the extra-curricular activities in which middle-class children are so involved, and which constitute an important avenue of mobility in middle-class society. The only formal organizations found in low-income neighborhoods are generally designed exclusively for the poor and fail to bring them into contact with people of other class levels.

The poor also are marginally involved in national-level institutions such as churches, political parties or labor unions. Some of the poor may belong to the rank and file of these organizations, but they rarely become active leaders or important decision-makers. Thus, again the poor find themselves relegated to a subordinate status, as followers carrying out the orders of those in authority. Their only peer associations are conducted on an informal basis with relatives, neighbors, and friends living in the immediate community.

It should be clear from the above analysis that the urban poor follow a particular pattern of activity which sets them apart as a separate social class and draws them closer to members of their own part-society. A class sub-culture may be defined not only in terms of shared norms and values, but also in terms of distinct patterns of interaction. This pattern of interaction does not break down the social isolation of the urban low-income neighborhood. On the contrary, it brings the urban poor into contact with people of similar socio-economic status, while in effect minimizing contact with other classes in the metropolis. Despite their dependence on the outside world for jobs, public services, schools, and other institutions, the urban poor remain encased in a web of lower-class relationships.

A basic argument presented in this report has been that this social isolation of the urban poor constitutes a serious obstacle to their upward mobility in the larger society. Much of the discussion concerning the lack of mobility in the low-income group has dealt with psychological or cultural variables such as difference in value orientation, lack of motivation or need achievement, or the bad influence of teachers, parents, or the peer group. We have attempted to look at the problem from a structural viewpoint. We maintain that the poor are denied access to avenues of mobility because they are shut off in a world where their only contacts are other poor people.

The values of the poor are basically the same as other class groups in the society, but they lack the opportunities and the resources open to these groups. Many of the poor despise their poverty-stricken way of life and would be only too happy to leave the slum and housing project, if they could. The ideal of most low-income families is to own their own homes in "nice," middle-class neighborhoods. They would like their children to finish high school and, if possible, to go on to college. They dream of their children becoming professional doctors, engineers, or teachers, and don't want them to lead lives as hard as their own. When they can afford it, they buy large-screened television sets and expensive automobiles. The drive for status in the low-income group can also take the form of refusing to use the clothing exchange or the free medical clinic or the neighborhood settlement house, for these are indicative of lower-class status.

Alienation and The Culture of Poverty

We would not agree with those who maintain that the poor constitute a separate subculture with a coherent value system of their own. Perhaps the most popular exponent of this view currently is Oscar Lewis and his theory of the "culture of poverty." Lewis describes the culture of poverty as a distinct subculture "with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines." (Lewis 1966: 19). This self-perpetuating concept of the culture of poverty neglects the role played by the institutions of the larger society in maintaining the marginality of the poor. As we have shown, these institutions, such as the school, the church, the government, and formal organizations, either limit participation to the middle and upper class, or establish a separate set of institutions to serve the poor. Lewis recognizes that "the disengagement, the nonintegration, of the poor with respect to the major institutions of society is a crucial element in the culture of poverty." (Ibid: 21). However, he appears to lay the blame primarily on the hostility and apathy of the poor rather than on the "recruitment" policy of these institutions.

Lewis maintains that the poor attach no importance to middle-class symbols of success, such as conspicuous consumption, educational achievement, job advancement, and other indications of upward mobility. This notion appears to me to be highly romantic and reminiscent of the anthropologist's defense of the "noble savage." Lewis treats the poor like a self-contained community much like anthropologists have tended to regard primitive tribes or peasant villages. He assumes they are untouched by the overwhelming emphasis on success in our society, supported by the school, the mass media and other value-inculcating mechanisms. As in the case of the primitive, there is a strong suggestion that any attempt to change the way of life of the urban poor is futile--and perhaps wrong, since it would mean imposing our values on another culture. The culture of poverty thus becomes a convenient device for "doing nothing" about the poor (or for explaining away failures), since the poor do not aspire to a better way of life anyway.

Lewis attempts to limit the culture of poverty to a "class-stratified, highly indivuated, capitalistic society." (Ibid. 21). But this classification is still far too broad and does not account for the many forms of adaptation the poor may make to their marginal position in complex, urban society. There are many varieties of the culture of poverty and Lewis' families represent only one type. This is one disadvantage of the methodology of family studies as Lewis has developed it. (Lewis 1965: XVIII-XXIV). Case studies in single families, no matter how intensive, cannot possibly give us the range of variation to be found in a community with its "full round of local life." (Arensberg 1965: 30). Even in a one-class community, as we have seen, families differ in background, in resources and skills, and in their ability to cope with the vicissitudes of a marginal existence.

Historical factors are also important in determining the relationship of the poor to the larger society. We have seen this in our comparison of the Puerto Rican poor and the Negro low-income group. The systematic exclusion of Negroes from American society is based largely on historical factors which were not operative on the island. Similarly, Lewis specifically excludes the lower castes of India and the Jews of Eastern Europe from his culture of poverty concept. (Lewis 1966: 23). Yet these groups owe their distinctive cultural tradition to centuries of historic development, which provides a point of identification for them despite their low status in the larger society. The destitute Indian Chamar or the illiterate East European Jew belongs to a subculture which sets them apart from the larger society and which has its own criteria for status evaluation. They are not judged solely on the basis of their low status in the larger society. The unity of these groups is expressed and reinforced through a variety of mechanisms such as endogamy, religious sanctions, self-governing bodies, mutual aid societies, etc.

We have seen that it is also possible for an urban low-income neighborhood to serve as a buffer to the outside world. The shanty town serves much the same function for the Puerto Rican poor that the Indian caste group or that the East European Jewish shtetl serve for their members. It is a cohesive community which provides an integral, meaningful way of life for people living at the bottom of a stratified social order. The shanty town provides for indigenous leadership through the barrio committees and the core of old-timers, and for strong local social control. Interdependence among neighbors is reinforced through extensive kin links, visiting and friendship patterns, and widespread mutual aid, which levels some of the socio-economic differences in the shanty town. The wide range in standards of living stimulates poorer families to follow the examples of their more successful neighbors.

It would seem, then, that the organizational strength of the low-income community or of the ethnic minority is an important element in reducing the impact of marginal status on these low-income groups. Lewis also recognizes this when he states:

> ". . . It would seem that any movement--be it religious, pacifist or revolutionary--that organizes and gives hope to the poor and effectively promotes a sense of solidarity with larger groups must effectively destroy the psychological and social core of the culture of poverty." (Ibid: 24).

But Lewis fails to find the sources of this organizational strength in the Puerto Rican shanty town which he studied or for that matter in any type of community life. He appears to feel that low status groups must have a "great tradition" with which to identify themselves--be it religious, ethnic, racial, or political. However, we have attempted to show that the little community can also provide a point of identification for the urban poor and protect them from their low status in the larger society. Communities may not have a formal structure similar to that found in religious, ethnic, or political groups, but unity is expressed through the informal network of neighborhood associations.

The Puerto Rican housing project and the Negro ghetto lack this cohesion and therefore their residents suffer from greater alienation and personal disorganization. There is no buffer between them and the larger society, and therefore they experience only the low status conferred upon them by this society. However, the American Negro is also subject to special liabilities stemming from his racial exclusion from American society. The status of the Negro in the United States is not based solely on class position. Even a middle-class Negro is denied full participation in the institutional and social life of the larger society. For the systematic exclusion of Negroes from elite positions in American society is based on ascriptive rather than achievement criteria, on race rather than class.

The class barriers facing the Puerto Rican poor do not make upward mobility in the society any easier. We cannot compare rates of mobility for the Negro and Puerto Rican poor, since this would require longitudinal data which was not available in this study. In addition, mobility rates are affected by a complex of factors, including economic indices for the society as a whole and for the particular communities studied, so that no simple correlation would be satisfactory. Certainly neither the Negro nor the Puerto Rican poor show very rapid rates of upward mobility. However, the lack of mobility among the Puerto Rican poor is mitigated by the fact that they retain meaningful relationships with people of their own class level. This strong sense of group cohesion, particularly in the shanty town, protects them from alienation in the larger society. Class groups could become subcultural segments with a distinct value system in a very rigid social order which permitted no movement between class levels. M.G. Smith has argued that this is the case in Jamaica. (Smith 1965: 162-176). However, the Puerto Rican stratification system is sufficiently fluid to allow all class segments to share in many basic values and cultural patterns. Even those traits commonly associated with the poor, such as machismo, male drinking bouts, the woman's reliance on her female kin, the strong affection for children, and the tendency to value the present more than the future, can be found at all class levels. Certain traits are intensified in the lower class because of their marginal status and general economic insecurity. But these traits are not found exclusively among the poor in Puerto Rican society. This is the very reason why Lewis found so "little revolutionary spirit or radical ideology among low-income Puerto Ricans." (Lewis 1966: 24). They feel no need to rebel against the existing order because they identify with it and feel they have made considerable strides under it.

American Negroes have much greater identification problems. They have always been relegated to subordinate status in American society, not only because of their poverty, but also because of their race. As a result, Negroes are far more hostile toward the outside world of whites than Puerto Ricans, who have never been persecuted as a group on racial grounds. Much of the hostility of Negroes is turned inward toward members of their own community and race, resulting in a loss of a sense of self-worth and self-respect. Banfield describes a similar sense of deep dissatisfaction among peasants in southern Italy and makes the following general observation:

> "There are primitive societies in which the level of biological well-being is even lower, but in which people are not chronically unhappy. What makes the difference between a low level of living and la miseria comes from culture. Unlike the primitive, the peasant feels himself part of a larger society which he is 'in' but not altogether 'of.' He lives in a culture in which it is very important to be admired, and he sees that by its standards he cannot be admired in the least; by these standards he and everything about him are contemptible or ridiculous. Knowing this, he is filled with loathing for his lot and with anger for the fates which assigned him to it." (Banfield 1958: 64-65).

Thus, the American Negro is caught in the dilemma of having to accept the standards of the larger society, yet by these standards he is relegated to a subordinate position. Lacking an independent set of norms and values, he is forced to accept the low status assigned him by the larger society. The "black power" movement now underway among certain militant Negro groups can be understood in this light. The separatism stressed by black power advocates is an attempt by Negroes to create a cultural identity of their own, independent of the dominant white society. They have tried to set up their own criteria for judging their self-worth and self-respect rather than stressing acceptance within the norms of white society.

However, as Siegel has pointed out in a study of the Black Muslims, the code of ethics promulgated by this militant separatist group, with its emphasis on hard work, frugality, and strict moral discipline, closely resembles the traditional Protestant ethic espoused by the white middle class. Siegel terms the Black Muslim movement a form of "defensive adaptation" (Siegel 1964) in which Negroes, while ostensibly rejecting the criteria of white society, are actually stressing those values which will promote their mobility within and acceptance by this society. Thus, the ultimate goal remains assimilation. But until we erase the ascriptive barriers to upward mobility in our society, this goal can never be completely achieved.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The assimilation of the urban poor has obvious implications for their upward mobility. By defining assimilation as incorporation into the social life and institutional system of the larger society, we are in a sense equating it with opportunities for upward mobility. The process is cyclical, for just as assimilation promotes mobility, so mobility promotes assimilation. Many studies have shown that the assimilation of American ethnic groups, particularly of the second generation, is accelerated by their movement into the middle class. The converse is also true; namely, those ethnic groups who have been least assimilated are those who have tended to remain largely lower class. Thus, Gans describes how working-class Italian Americans in Boston have deliberately rejected those mechanisms of acculturation offered to them by the larger society, such as the school, the settlement house, and other "caretakers" from the outside world. (Gans 1962: 120-162). They reject upward mobility in favor of maintaining ethnic identity and group cohesion centered around the peer group.

However, lower class status is a considerable price to pay for the maintenance of ethnic identity and cohesion. Presumably, a close-knit group offers its own rewards to its members through the maintenance of an internal status system which differs from that of the larger society. For example, the Italian-Americans of the West End reward the gambler or the ward politician with a prestige he does not find in the outside world. But for an internal status system to function as a relevant set of criteria for its members presupposes a sense of group cohesion and ethnic identity strong enough to withstand the contradictory criteria established by the larger society. Few American ethnic groups have retained such a strong sense of ethnic identity, at least beyond the second generation. As minorities, they have been unable to withstand the overwhelming pressures to conform imposed by the dominant majority. Therefore, these groups have been forced to abandon their older cultural traditions and to adopt the values and behavior practices of the dominant group, even though they remain structurally isolated from the larger society.

Assimilation is then an accepted goal of American society. Despite the pluralistic basis of our society, we have encouraged ethnic and minority groups to shed their cultural traditions as quickly as possible and to conform to the "American way of life." However, all too often, we have persuaded groups to break away from older traditions without being prepared to accept them as full and equal citizens in American society. This has certainly been true of American Negroes, and to a lesser extent, also of American Indians. As a result, these groups are left without a tradition of their own nor a sense of identification with the larger society of which they now form a part.

Our policy with regard to older, stable lower class neighborhoods has committed the same mistake. Urban renewal has torn down these neighborhoods on the assumption that the poor will become more upwardly mobile once they have broken these kin and neighborhood ties. However, without the support provided by these ties, the poor often become more dependent on public institutions like public housing, public welfare, and other forms of charity. This pattern of dependence may be even more difficult to break since it is sustained by public policy and a complex bureaucracy which also becomes self-perpetuating.

We would therefore caution policymakers in education, housing, and other crucial areas related to the poor against too simplistic an approach to the problem of change in low-income neighborhoods. We have too often discarded the old without really asking ourselves whether the new is an adequate substitute. Thus, we have replaced dependence on kin with dependence on the government, we have replaced neighborhood systems of social control with dependence on the police and other correction agencies, and we have replaced informal patterns of mutual aid with the services provided by settlement houses and other charity organizations. All of this may appear to be a more rational and equitable system of distributing needed services to the poor, since it places responsibility on public agencies rather than relying on the informal neighborhood network. But it does not promote community solidarity because it weakens the dependence of neighbors on each other and subjects them to greater outside supervision and control. It reinforces the marginal status of the poor in the larger society.

Instead of simply increasing the services provided to the poor by the outside world, we would suggest that public agencies concentrate on developing the organizational strengths of low-income neighborhoods. We can strengthen kin and neighborhood networks by making it possible for kin to live in the same community (in public housing, for example), by providing small and dispersed meeting places where children and adults can get together informally, and giving the poor greater responsibility for running their own affairs. The insistence by OEO that representatives of the poor be included on the boards of local anti-poverty agencies is a step in the right direction. But we have not gone far enough. The poor should be represented on local school boards, in local church organizations, in local political parties, and other outside institutions serving the low-income neighborhood. The poor can also be employed by local schools, welfare offices, public housing projects, public parks and recreation programs, settlement houses, etc. to give them a greater sense of participation in neighborhood affairs--as well as an important additional source of income.

Assimilation remains the ultimate goal. We must be prepared to open up new avenues of mobility for the poor and to bring them into contact with people of other class levels. Certainly the drive to desegregate ghetto schools and bring low-income children into middle-class neighborhoods is a step in this direction. However, the effectiveness of school integration is limited as long as neighborhoods remain socially and racially segregated. The lower class child is more affected by the immediate environment of his home and neighborhood than by what happens in the classroom. Therefore, we would give equal emphasis to programs which upgrade the level of existing services in low-income neighborhoods. By giving the poor greater responsibility and authority over these services, we also promote their assimilation into the larger society. Participation must start at the local level in order to develop the organizational strengths of the low-income neighborhood. Then the poor will be prepared to participate more fully as citizens of the larger society.

Table 1

SHANTY TOWN FAMILIES BY WEEKLY FOOD EXPENDITURE AND NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD

Persons per Household	Weekly Food Expenditure Under $9	$10-$14	$15-$19	$20-$24	$25 and over	Don't coincide*	Total
Total N	10	16	22	20	12	20	100
1 - 2	4	1	3	-	-	-	8
3 - 4	3	7	11	4	1	3	29
5 - 6	2	2	3	6	2	9	24
7 - 9	1	6	4	9	3	5	28
10 - 15	-	-	1	1	6	3	11

* Husband and wife disagree on amount.

Table 2

SHANTY TOWN FAMILIES BY WEEKLY FOOD EXPENDITURE AND ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

Annual Family Income	Under $9	$10 $14	$15-$19	$20-$24	$25 and over	Don't coincide*
Total N	10	16	22	20	12	20
Under $500	5	7	1	3	-	-
$500 - $999	2	2	2	1	-	1
$1000 - $1999	3	6	7	5	1	8
$2000 - $2999	-	1	10	7	5	8
$3000 and over	-	-	2	4	6	3

* Husband and wife disagree on amount.

Table 3

SHANTY TOWN ADULT MALES BY FIRST OCCUPATION AND FIRST SALARY

First annual salary	First Occupation					
	Agricultural laborer	Operative	Service worker	Laborer	Artisan	Other
Total N	28	9	11	20	5	9
Less than $500	24	3	6	13	1	1
$500 - $999	2	3	1	6	-	3
$1000 - $1449	2	3	3	1	-	3
$1500 - $1999	-	-	1	-	2	1
$2000 - $2499	-	-	-	-	1	-
$2500 - $2999	-	-	-	-	-	-
$3000 or more	-	-	-	-	1	1

Table 4

EMPLOYMENT PATTERN AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULT MALES

Occupation	Shanty Town Males	Project Males
Total N	(82)	(68)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Agricultural laborer	1.2	-
Professional	1.2	1.5
Clerical	1.2	11.8
Sales worker	4.9	4.4
Artisan	13.4	16.1
Operative	17.1	11.8
Service worker	23.3	23.5
Proprietors, managers	3.7	5.9
Laborers	20.7	4.4
Unemployed or out of labor force	13.4	20.6

Table 5

SHANTY TOWN MALES BY ANNUAL SALARY AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Annual Salary Less than $1000	$1000-$2000	$2000-$3000	$3000 and over
Total N*	11	35	23	2
Agricultural laborer	1	-	-	-
Professional	-	-	-	1
Clerical	-	-	-	1
Sales worker	2	2	-	-
Artisan	1	4	6	-
Operative	-	7	7	-
Service	5	11	3	-
Proprietors, managers	1	1	1	-
Laborers	1	10	6	-

* Doesn't include unemployed or out of labor force.

Table 6

TOTAL ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Income	Number of Shanty Town Families	Number of Project Families
Total N	100	100
Under $500	16	17
$500 - $999	8	18
$1000 - $1499	19	20
$1500 - $1999	11	16
$2000 - $2499	20	17
$2500 - $2999	11	7
$3000 - $3999	10	2
$4000 - $4999	1	2
$5000 or more	4	1

Table 7

SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT FAMILIES BY ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME AND NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED PER HOUSEHOLD

	Annual Family Income					
	Shanty Town Families					
No. of persons employed per household	Less than $500	$500-$999	$1000-$1999	$2000-$2999	$3000 and over	Total
Total N	16	8	30	31	15	100
None	11	1	-	2	-	14
1	5	6	21	18	2	52
2 - 4	-	1	9	11	13	34
	Project Families					
Total N	17	18	36	24	5	100
None	13	8	3	-	-	24
1	4	10	29	20	1	64
2 - 4	-	-	4	4	4	12

Table 8

SHANTY TOWN FEMALES BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND OCCUPATION

	Employment Status		
Occupation	Presently employed	Presently unemployed, previously employed	Never employed
Total N	22	45	27
Domestic service	8	22	-
Operative	4	18	-
Service	6	2	-
Other occupations	4	3	-
None	-	-	27

Table 9

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

Grade completed	Shanty Town Adults Male	Shanty Town Adults Female	Project Adults Male	Project Adults Female
Total N	(82)	(94)	(68)	(95)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
None	14.6	22.3	4.4	12.6
1 - 4	45.1	39.4	38.3	47.3
5 - 8	28.1	30.9	38.3	29.5
9 or more	12.2	7.4	19.0	10.6

Table 10

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADOLESCENTS

Grade	Shanty Town Adolescents Male	Shanty Town Adolescents Female	Project Adolescents Male	Project Adolescents Female
Total N	(18)	(36)	(23)	(38)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1 - 4	5.9	2.7	13.1	5.3
5 - 8	52.9	54.9	56.5	52.6
9 - 12	41.2	40.5	30.4	42.1
University	-	2.7	-	-

Table 11

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADOLESCENTS

Occupation	Shanty Town Adolescents		Project Adolescents	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total N	(18)	(36)	(23)	(38)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Agricultural worker	-	-	-	-
Professional	11.8	32.5	30.5	21.0
Clerical	11.8	27.0	-	21.0
Sales worker	-	13.5	4.3	15.8
Artisan	29.4	-	34.8	5.3
Operative	17.6	10.8	8.7	7.9
Domestic service	5.9	5.4	-	-
Service	23.5	5.4	17.4	13.2
Proprietors, managers	-	-	-	-
Laborers	-	-	4.3	-
Doesn't know	-	2.7	-	2.6
Doesn't plan to work	-	2.7	-	13.2

Table 12

RELATIVES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

	Shanty Town Adults	Project Adults
Total N	(176)	(163)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Relatives in neighborhood	54.5	41.1
See each other daily	40.3	24.5
See each other weekly	9.6	12.3
See each other monthly	2.3	2.5
See each other yearly	1.7	1.2
Never see each other	0.6	0.6
No relatives in neighborhood	45.5	58.9

Table 13

SHANTY TOWN ADULTS' CHOICE OF COMPADRES (RITUAL KIN) FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Relationship to father or mother	Father's choice of compadre		Mother's choice of compadre	
	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter
Total N*	164	164	188	188
Neighbor	62	42	68	58
Relative	37	45	53	57
Friend	21	25	28	33
Employer	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	1	1
No *compadre* chosen	14	8	12	6
No son and/or daughter	28	42	24	28
Doesn't remember	2	2	-	5

* Doubled because two persons chosen for each child.

Table 14

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF ADULTS' THREE BEST FRIENDS IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Place of Residence	Shanty Town Male	Shanty Town Female	Project Male	Project Female
Total N	(82)	(94)	(68)	(95)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
None live in neighborhood	13.4	13.8	35.3	12.6
One lives in neighborhood	19.5	12.8	17.6	12.6
Two live in neighborhood	30.5	18.1	19.1	16.9
Three live in neighborhood	29.3	44.7	11.8	47.4
No report	7.3	10.6	16.2	10.5

Table 15

CHURCH ATTENDANCE AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS

	Shanty Town				Project			
	Adults		Adolescents		Adults		Adolescents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total N	(82)	(94)	(18)	(36)	(68)	(95)	(23)	(38)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Every Sunday	18.3	23.4	47.0	56.8	22.0	39.0	39.1	71.1
Once or twice a month	20.7	39.3	11.8	18.9	26.5	26.3	34.8	23.7
Once or twice a year	11.0	6.4	5.9	13.5	11.8	12.6	8.7	2.6
Never	50.0	30.9	35.3	10.8	39.7	22.1	17.4	2.6

Table 16

SHANTY TOWN MALES BY UNIONIZATION AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	No union in place of work	Union, but doesn't belong	Union and belongs
Total N*	41	3	27
Agricultural laborer	1	-	-
Professional	-	-	1
Clerical	1	-	-
Sales worker	4	-	-
Artisan	7	-	4
Operative	6	1	7
Service worker	13	-	6
Proprietors, managers	2	-	1
Laborers	7	2	8

* Doesn't include unemployed or out of labor force.

Table 17

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT COMMUNITY CENTER AMONG PROJECT ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS

	Project Adults	Project Adolescents
Total N	(163)	(61)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Never attended	50.9	32.8
Attended once	19.6	19.7
Attended twice	15.3	22.9
Attended 3 - 6 times	14.2	24.6

Table 18

INCIDENCE OF DISEASE IN CHILDREN IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT FAMILIES

	Number of Shanty Town Families	Number of Project Families
Total N	(100)	(100)
Diarrhea or entiritis	58	28
Tuberculosis	3	4
Pneumonia	20	8
Anemia	26	11
Internal Parasites	75	52

* The number given here are the number of families whose children have suffered from these diseases since they live in the neighborhood.

Table 19

OWNERSHIP OF REFRIGERATOR, RADIO AND TELEVISION SET IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Articles Owned	Number of Shanty Town Families	Number of Project Families
Total N	(100)	(100)
None	16	5
Radio	80	92
Refrigerator	58	80
Television Set	39	66
Own all three	33	62

Table 20

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN SAN JUAN METROPOLITAN AREA AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

Years of Residence & Date of Arrival	Shanty Town Adults			Project Adults		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total N	(82)	(94)	(176)	(68)	(95)	(163)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1 - 9 (1950-59)	15.9	13.8	14.8	2.9	4.2	3.7
10 - 19 (1940-49)	30.4	33.0	31.8	32.3	33.7	33.1
20 - 29 (1930-39)	25.6	34.0	30.1	22.1	30.5	27.0
30 - 39 (1920-29)	15.9	12.8	14.2	26.5	12.6	18.4
40 and over (before 1920)	12.2	6.4	9.1	16.2	19.0	17.8
Average no. of years in San Juan Metropolitan Area	22.5 yrs.	20.9 yrs.		26.2 yrs.	26.0 yrs.	

Note: Where the person was born in the metropolitan area, the years of residence corresponds to his age.

Table 21

PLACE OF BIRTH OF ADULTS IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Place of Birth	Shanty Town Adults			Project Adults		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total N	(82)	(94)	(176)	(68)	(95)	(163)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Metropolitan Area	15.9	10.6	13.1	19.1	22.1	20.8
Other towns and cities	19.5	11.7	15.3	23.5	27.4	25.8
Rural area	64.6	77.7	71.6	57.4	49.5	52.8
Outside Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	1.0	.6

Table 22

SALARY SCALE AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT MALES

Annual Salary	Shanty Town Males	Project Males
Total N*	(71)	(53)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Under $500	9.9	-
$500 - $749	2.8	3.8
$750 - $999	2.8	3.8
$1000 - $1249	16.9	20.7
$1250 - $1449	11.3	11.3
$1500 - $1749	14.1	13.2
$1750 - $1999	7.0	11.3
$2000 - $2499	22.5	30.2
$2500 - $2999	9.9	5.7
$3000 or more	2.8	-

* Doesn't include unemployed or out of labor force.

Table 23

FAMILY TYPE IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Family type	Number of Shanty Town Families	Number of Project Families
Total N	100	100
Nuclear	50	38
Extended	18	20
Female-based households	20	35
Mother and children only	11	17
Mother, children and additional relatives	9	18
Single men	4	-
Single men and older sons	2	2
Single men, children and additional relatives	-	4
Spouses only	3	1
Spouses with relatives (no children)	3	-

Table 24

PREFERRED PLACE OF RESIDENCE AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS

Place of Residence	Shanty Town		Project	
	Adults	Adolescents	Adults	Adolescents
Total N	(176)	(54)	(163)	(61)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Present residence	23.3	35.2	47.2	54.1
Barrio Obrero or Villa Palmeras	19.3	16.6	6.8	3.3
Santurce (generally)	3.4	3.7	1.8	-
Rural area	4.0	3.7	3.1	-
Housing project	8.0	-	INAPPLICABLE*	
Urbanización	11.9	24.1	27.6	23.0
Other	10.2	11.1	11.7	16.3
No report	19.9	5.6	1.8	3.3

* Same as present residence.

Table 25

ACTION IN CASE OF FIGHT IN NEIGHBORHOOD AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

	Shanty Town Adults		Project Adults	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total N	(82)	(94)	(68)	(95)
Call police	6.1	3.2	11.8	11.6
Intervene	40.3	15.9	25.0	11.6
Nothing	52.4	79.8	63.2	76.8
No report	1.2	1.1	-	-

Table 26

OCCUPATION OF BEST FRIENDS AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT MALES

Occupation	Shanty Town Males*	Project Males
Professional	7	17
Clerical and sales worker	23	38
Artisans and Operatives	61	42
Service trades	29	23
Proprietors (storekeepers)	23	4
Laborers	35	13
Agricultural worker	7	2
Unemployed	-	4
Outside labor force	28	14

* Indicates the number of friends in each occupation.

Table 27

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADOLESCENTS

	Shanty Town Adolescents		Project Adolescents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Less than 12th grade	5.9	2.7	17.4	--
Completion of high school	53.0	59.5	21.7	42.1
More than high school	17.6	13.5	34.8	34.2
Not reported	--	2.7	4.4	2.6
Already left school	23.5	21.6	21.7	21.1

Table 28

POLITICAL SYMPATHIES AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

Political Party	Shanty Town Adults		Project Adults	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total N	(82)	(94)	(68)	(95)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Popular	61.0	61.7	38.2	57.9
Independence	2.4	1.1	-	-
Statehood	32.9	21.3	55.9	32.6
No report	3.7	15.9	5.9	9.5

Table 29

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PARK HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Race	Park Homes	Park Neighborhood
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Total N	(164)	(157)
White	23.8	19.8
Negro	75.0	79.6
Other	1.2	0.6

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study

Table 30

PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN PARK HOMES AMONG HUSBANDLESS AND MARRIED MOTHERS

Participation in Voluntary Associations	Husbandless Mothers	Married Mothers
Belong to none	32.4	58.7
Belong to one	14.7	17.4
Belong to two or more	53.0	24.0
Total %	100.1%	100.1%
Total N	(34)	(46)

Source: Kriesberg & Bellin 1965: Table 113, p. 256.

Table 31

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SELECTED INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL MEASURES FOR PARK HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Measures		Park Homes	Park Neighborhood
Household income in dollars	Means	3,023	5,369
	Standard Deviations	1,584	3,796
Per capita disposable household income in dollars*	Means	653	1,474
	Standard Deviations	369	1,413
Occupational socio-economic index of family	Means	18.20	20.21
	Standard Deviations	12.25	16.80

Source: Kriesberg and Bellin, 1965: Table 15, p. 43; Table 19, p. 48.

*Excludes money paid for rent or mortgage payments and utilities.

Table 32

INCOME LIMITS FOR FEDERALLY AIDED PROJECTS IN NEW YORK

Number of Persons	Maximum Net Income for Regular Admission[1]	Maximum Net Income for Continued Occupancy
1 or 2 persons	$3,500	$4,400
3 "	4,000	5,000
4 "	4,500	5,625
5 "	5,000	6,250
6 "	5,500	6,875
7 "	6,000	7,500
8 or more	(add $500 per person)	(25% over admission)

---

[1] Special Admission Limits for families displaced by Public Action shall be $500 over Regular Admission Limits.

Source: "Resolution Amending the Management Resolution Regarding Income Limits and Rents for Federally-Aided Projects" Syracuse Housing Authority (undated).

Table 33

FAMILY SIZE BY RACE IN PARK HOMES

Family Size	Park Homes	
	White	Non-white
Total %	100.0%	99.8%
Total N	(200)	(474)
1 - 2	81.0	17.9
3 - 5	14.0	55.6
6 or more	5.0	26.3

Source: 1963 Statistical Summary of Tenant Population, Syracuse Housing Authority.

Table 34

ANNUAL INCOME BY RACE AND BY FAMILY COMPOSITION IN PARK HOMES*

	White			Non-White		
	Complete	One Parent	Elderly	Complete	One Parent	Elderly
less than $1000	0	2	41	2	7	15
$1000 - $1999	3	10	62	21	75	21
$2000 - $2999	7	7	15	52	74	15
Subtotal N	10	19	118	75	156	51
Subtotal %	43.5%	90.5%	96.7%	33.3%	74.3%	98.1%
$3000 - $4999	12	2	4	114	52	1
$5000 +	1	0	0	36	2	0
Subtotal N	13	2	4	150	54	1
Subtotal %	56.5%	9.5%	3.3%	66.7%	25.7%	1.9%
Total N	23	21	122	225	210	52
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Figures given are numbers unless % is indicated.

Source: 1963 Statistical Summary of Tenant Population, Syracuse Housing Authority.

Table 35

HOUSEHOLDS BY RACE, FAMILY COMPOSITION AND NUMBER OF ADULTS WORKING PER FAMILY IN PARK HOMES

	Park Homes					
	White			Non-White		
Number of adults working	Complete	Fatherless	Elderly	Complete	Fatherless	Elderly
None	26.1	47.6	86.9	16.9	61.0	73.1
One	69.6	52.4	12.3	72.9	39.0	23.1
Two - more	4.3	0.0	0.8	10.2	0.0	3.8
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total N	23	21	122	225	210	52

Source: 1963 Statistical Summary of Tenant Population, Syracuse Housing Authority.

Table 36

REGION IN WHICH RAISED BY RACE IN PARK HOMES

Race	Greater Metropolitan Area	Elsewhere In NY State	Elsewhere In Midwest & Northeast	South	Mountain Pacific	Non-U.S.	Total %	(N)
White	57.9	13.2	2.6	5.3	0.0	21.0	100.0	38
Negro	23.6	2.4	3.3	70.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	123
Other	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	2

Source: Analyses V, Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study.

Table 37

YEAR ARRIVED IN CITY BY RACE IN PARK HOMES

Race	Before 1939	1940 - 1949	After 1950	Raised in City	Total %	Total (N)
White	34.2	10.5	10.5	44.7	99.9	38
Negro	8.9	17.9	51.2	22.0	100.0	123
Other	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	100.0	2

Source: Analyses VI, Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study.

Table 38

SIZE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AMONG HUSBANDLESS AND MARRIED MOTHERS IN PARK HOMES

Size of Community	Park Homes Husbandless Mothers	Married Mothers
Rural Farm	11.4	20.4
25,000 - 99,000	45.7	42.9
100,000 - 249,000	40.0	32.7
500,000 - 999,000	2.9	4.1
1,000,000 +	0.0	0.0

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study.

Table 39

OCCUPATION OF FATHER[1] IN PARK HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Occupation	Park Homes	Park Neighborhood
Professional, technical & kindred workers	3.2	4.1
Managers, officials & proprietors except farm	3.2	6.2
Clerical & kindred workers	0.0	0.0
Sales workers	0.7	0.0
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	14.8	17.2
Operatives & kindred workers	14.2	18.6
Service workers	5.9	4.8
Farmers and farm managers	34.2	26.2
Farm laborers and foremen	4.5	6.9
Laborers, except farm and mine	10.3	11.0
Disabled, unemployed	0.7	0.0
No father or surrogate	8.4	4.8
Total %	100.1	99.8
Total N	(155)	(145)

1) Refers to father of respondent

Table 40

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY REGION IN WHICH RAISED[1)]

Years of Formal Education	City or County	Greater Metropolitan Area	New York City	New York State	North	South	West	Foreign	No Information
0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	3.7	0.0	4.5	14.2
1 - 8	22.5	35.0	18.4	31.0	16.6	41.1	62.5	53.7	42.8
9 - 11	32.9	28.0	13.1	17.1	20.1	30.1	12.5	12.1	42.8
12	29.5	24.5	15.7	25.6	41.2	14.7	0.0	11.3	0.0
12 or more years	12.1	10.5	44.7	21.9	21.0	5.6	25.0	12.1	0.0
Indeterminate or no answer	2.4	1.7	7.8	3.7	0.8	4.5	0.0	6.0	0.0
Total %	99.7	99.7	99.7	99.8	99.7	99.7	100.0	99.7	99.8
(N)	(568)	(57)	(38)	(187)	(114)	(265)	(8)	(132)	(7)

---

1) Includes entire sample from all 4 projects and neighborhoods.

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study

Table 41

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY RACE[1)]

Years of Formal Education	White	Non-White
0	.9	2.8
1 - 8 years	28.9	35.1
9 - 11 years	23.6	34.2
12 years	26.8	17.6
12 or more years	16.1	7.0
Indeterminate or no answer	3.4	3.0
Total %	99.7	99.7
(N)	(1020)	(356)

1) Includes entire sample from all 4 housing projects and neighborhoods.

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study

Table 42

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN PARK HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Years of Formal Education	Park Homes	Park Neighborhood
7 years or less	35.5	27.3
8 years	14.8	13.0
9-11 years	33.6	32.5
12 years	12.3	14.3
12 or more years	3.9	13.0
Totals %	100.1	100.1
N	(132)	(154)

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study.

Table 43

MALE EMPLOYMENT PATTERN BY RACE[1)]

Males Current Occupation[1]	White	Non-White
Professional	9.9	4.3
Manager	13.4	3.5
Clerical	7.5	3.5
Sales	6.1	1.7
Crafts	22.8	17.6
Operatives	25.9	37.7
Service	8.1	14.0
Farmer	0.0	0.9
Farm Laborer	0.0	0.0
Domestic	0.3	0.0
Laborer	5.8	16.6
Totals %	99.8	99.8
(N)	(343)	(114)

1) Includes entire sample but only currently active members of labor force.

Source: Cross-Sectional Survey, Public Housing and Social Mobility Study.

Table 44

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS WHO ASPIRE FOR MORE THAN A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR A SON BY RACE IN FATHERLESS AND COMPLETE FAMILIES[1]

		Race	
Family Type		Non-White	White
Fatherless	%	8.1	23.2
	(N)	(62)	(69)
Complete	%	22.8	33.1
	(N)	(114)	(290)

---

1) Includes entire sample. Indeterminates not included.

Source: Cagle, 1965 op.cit., Table 22, p. 98.

Table 45

SHANTY TOWN ADULTS BY TYPE OF MARRIAGE IN FIRST UNION AND NUMBER OF UNIONS

No. of Unions	Church ceremony			Civil ceremony			Consensual union		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total*	45	52	97	16	17	33	16	25	41
1	37	42	79	9	10	19	8	11	19
2	6	10	16	7	5	12	5	8	13
3	2	-	2	-	2	2	1	4	5
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1

* Five males excluded because still single.

Table 46

SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT FEMALES BY NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE MARRIAGE AND FAMILY TYPE

	Number of years since marriage					
	0 - 9		10 - 19		20 and over	
Family type	Shanty Town Females	Project Females	Shanty Town Females	Project Females	Shanty Town Females	Project Females
Total N	13	7	31	35	50	52
Nuclear	7	2	23	18	18	18
Extended	3	4	6	7	11	9
Female-based	2	1	1	9	17	25
Spouses only	1	-	-	1	2	-
Spouses with relatives (no children)	-	-	1	-	2	-

Table 47

PERSONS AND MINORS PER FAMILY IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Number	Persons per Family: Shanty Town Families	Persons per Family: Project Families	Minors per Family*: Shanty Town Families	Minors per Family*: Project Families
Total N	100	100	100	100
None	-	-	13	10
1	4	-	19	12
2	4	6	12	16
3	14	14	17	24
4	15	11	10	11
5	9	17	13	11
6	15	14	3	6
7	16	14	3	5
8	7	13	4	3
9	5	1	3	-
10	3	7	3	-
11	3	-	-	2
12	2	1	-	-
13	1	1	-	-
14	2	-	-	-
15	-	1	-	-
Average N	5.90	5.88	3.0	3.0

* Includes all persons under 18 years of age, whether or not they are children of the head of the household.

Table 48

PREFERRED PARENT AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS AND ADOLESCENTS

Parent	Shanty Town Adults	Shanty Town Adolescents	Project Adults	Project Adolescents
Total N	(176)	(54)	(163)	(61)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Mother	58.0	61.1	62.6	54.1
Father	10.8	1.9	11.7	3.3
Both	26.7	37.0	23.3	42.6
No report	4.5	-	2.4	-

Table 49

PUNITIVE AGENT FOR ADOLESCENTS IN SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT HOUSEHOLDS

Agent		Shanty Town Adolescents Boys	Shanty Town Adolescents Girls	Project Adolescents Boys	Project Adolescents Girls
	Total N	(18)	(36)	(23)	(38)
	Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Father		29.4	13.5	30.5	7.9
Mother		47.0	67.6	52.2	60.5
Other		11.8	8.1	13.0	13.2
No one		5.9	8.1	-	10.5
Inapplicable*		5.9	2.7	4.3	7.9

* No children in family

Table 50

MARITAL STATUS OF SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS

	Shanty Town Adults		Project Adults	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total N	(82)	(94)	(68)	(95)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Single	7.3	-	4.4	1.1
Legal marriage	62.2	54.3	60.3	45.2
Consensual union	23.1	25.5	28.0	21.1
Widowed	-	8.5	4.4	12.6
Divorced	3.7	2.1	-	2.1
Separated	3.7	9.6	2.9	17.9

Table 51

IDENTIFICATION WITH POPULAR PERSONALITIES AMONG SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADOLESCENTS

Personality	Shanty Town Adolescents	Project Adolescents
Total N	(54)	(61)
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Puerto Rican	68.5	49.2
Hispanic	22.2	27.9
North American	7.4	18.0
No report	1.9	4.9

Table 52

SHANTY TOWN AND PROJECT ADULTS WHO BELIEVE THEIR CHILDREN SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DISPUTE WITH THEM

	Shanty Town Adults	Project Adults
Total %	100.0%	100.0%
Agree	83.0	71.8
Disagree	17.0	28.2

Table 53

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES MOST ENJOYED BY HUSBANDLESS AND MARRIED MOTHERS[1)]

	Mothers	
Activity enjoyed most	Husbandless	Married
No leisure time	2.4	1.5
Sew, play with children, shop, or other housewife-related activities	23.2	19.9
Watch television, sleep	24.8	19.6
Play musical instrument, paint, or other hobby	1.6	3.6
Visit, play cards, go to parties, gossip, go to movies or other informal social activities	21.6	22.4
Go bowling or fishing, watch sport events, do organizational work, or other non-local activities	8.8	13.2
Read or go to plays, museums, or concerts	15.2	16.8
Other specific activity. . . .	2.4	3.1
Totals %	100.0%	100.1%
Totals N	(125)	(393)

1) Includes entire sample.

Source: Kriesberg and Bellin, 1965: Table 89, p. 212.

Table 54

PERCENT OF HUSBANDLESS AND MARRIED MOTHERS IN PARK HOMES WITH SELECTED MARITAL AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

	Husbandless Mothers	Married Mothers
Percent who married before age 20	77.9	77.6
Percent of mothers less than 35 years of age	41.7	77.5
Percent with four or more children	41.6	59.2

Source: Kriesberg and Bellin, 1965: Table 27, p. 71.

Table 55

PERCENT OF HUSBANDLESS AND MARRIED MOTHERS IN PARK HOMES WITH SELECTED BELIEFS CONCERNING CHILD-REARING

	Husbandless Mothers	Married Mothers
Percent who think how child turns out is due mostly to how parents raise him	35.3	77.6
Percent who believe in explanation or reason for child discipline	14.3	22.5
Percent who believe in spanking for child discipline	65.7	59.6

Source: Kriesberg and Bellin, 1965: Table 39, p. 110; Table 32, p. 106; Table 38, p. 109.

Appendix II

METHODOLOGY

The data for this study are drawn from two independent research projects conducted by the author among low-income families. The Puerto Rican study, conducted in 1959-60, compared families living in a shanty town and public housing project in the midst of the San Juan Metropolitan Area (Safa 1964). The data on American Negroes, collected from 1962-64, consists of participant observation and interviews with low-income families living in a Negro ghetto and public housing project located in a medium-sized northern city. Since the author participated in both studies, it was possible to integrate the data so as to make meaningful comparisons and to give us an insight into the processes of social mobility among the urban poor in two different societies.

Both the study in Syracuse and in Puerto Rico follow the time, space, and social structure dimensions outlined by Arensberg in his description of the community study method. (Arensberg 1954). The spatial dimension shows up in the physical descriptions of the shanty town and public housing project as clearly demarcated neighborhoods within the wider context of the metropolitan community. The movement of people in and out of the neighborhood, as they go to work, visit friends and relatives, go to the movies or bars or attend schools represents the pattern of "dispersal and assemblages" characteristic of the urban poor. The temporal dimension of an urban community is not as marked as seasonal variations among peasants and primitives, yet we can discern differences in the daily and yearly round brought about by periods of unemployment, summer vacations for school children, or holidays like Christmas and Easter. There are also marked differences in the life cycle of individuals as they pass from childhood to adulthood and marriage to old age. Social structure, of course, is the largest dimension and includes all the various roles played by individuals as members of a family, consumers, employees, neighbors, project tenants, voters, church members, school children, etc.

Following the community study method, the main emphasis in both studies is on the pattern of interaction within the family and within the community -- the lines of authority and division of labor in the household, the patterns of cooperation between relatives, neighbors and friends, the sources of employment and relationships with employers and fellow employees, the use of leisure time, the mechanisms of social control, the pattern of participation in formal groups, and involvement in larger institutions such as the school, the church or politics. In all these areas, we attempted to determine whether interaction was limited to the immediate community or other low-income people or whether it crossed class lines.

The Puerto Rican study, sponsored by the Urban Renewal and Housing Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, aimed at analyzing the changes in family and community life resulting from the relocation of low-income Puerto Rican families from shanty towns to public housing projects. A representative shanty town and public housing project were chosen in the heart of the San Juan Metropolitan Area and the author spent three months of intensive participant observation in each neighborhood prior to the initiation of the survey phase.

The survey sample was drawn on the basis of a political census conducted in both neighborhoods a few months previously and listing every adult member of the household and certain other demographic data. Since the census showed that project families had been living in the San Juan Metropolitan Area considerably longer than shanty town families, an attempt was made to have the samples drawn from both neighborhoods reflect this difference. Categories were set up according to year of arrival in the metropolitan area and families were selected at random from the census according to these categories.

The interview schedule used in the survey was constructed by the author on the basis of the participant observation and administered by a staff of trained Puerto Rican interviewers. In order to achieve depth as well as coverage, it was decided to limit the number of families interviewed in each neighborhood to 100, but to interview husband and wife and where possible, an adolescent child. The result totaled 454 interviews with only one refusal.

My material on the Negro ghetto is drawn largely from field notes collected by a team of participant observers who lived in each of the four public housing projects in the city, for periods ranging from three months to one year. Only the field notes from one project have been used here, and the observer, a young Negro woman, lived with her family in the project for over one year. I visited with her and came to know some of these families personally. I also conducted life history interviews in these families and collected geneologies.

In addition to participant observation survey data was collected by two colleagues in the study, and the tables given in the report on the Negro ghetto represent the results of this survey. A total of 1,274 interviews were conducted on a cross-section of public housing tenants and residents in the surrounding neighborhood. Unfortunately, race was not one of the primary variables under consideration and therefore it has sometimes been necessary to present the data on the project without racial breakdowns. However, these interview data should be considered as supplementary to the primary hypothesis arrived at through participant observation. We must be careful in interpreting these results of these studies as generalizable to the entire low-income population. In the United States as in Puerto Rico, the rules for admission and continued occupancy in public housing mean that we have here a specially selected segment of the poor, one formed through conscious planning and selection rather than through natural neighborhood growth. The ranges of income, age, family type and other important variables found in public housing often differ considerably from ordinary low-income neighborhoods.

However, we do not feel that the selective nature of our sample population introduces a serious defect or bias in our results. Our informants differ sufficiently in socio-economic status, family structure, rural-urban background and other important variables so that we can get a picture of the range of variation in the low-income group. Our sample cannot be considered representative of all the urban poor in American society because there are important regional variations between North and South, between medium-sized cities and huge metropoli, between cities where Negroes have lived for generations and those to which, like here, they have only begun to migrate. Given these limitations, however, this study still serves to document the difference in racial and class restrictions on the process of social mobility and assimilation into the larger society. And that is the main purpose for which this study was undertaken.

Appendix III

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SUMMARY

Title: AN ANALYSIS OF UPWARD MOBILITY IN LOW-INCOME FAMILIES
Investigator: Dr. Helen Icken Safa
Institution: Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Contract No. OE-6-10-31
Duration: February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967 (extended to June 30, 1967)

BACKGROUND

There are today a vast number of educational programs aimed at low-income populations living in urban areas of the United States which would benefit from a better understanding of the differences within this seemingly homogeneous population. This study describes the style of family and community life in three different types of low-income neighborhoods: a shanty town and public housing project in San Juan, Puerto Rico and a Negro ghetto in Syracuse, a medium-sized city of New York State. It attempts to show how socially isolated the urban poor are from the surrounding metropolitan area and how marginally involved they are in national institutions such as schools, political parties, churches, etc. Education can play an important role in assimilating the urban poor into the mainstream of the national society, but this impact is often lost because of the countervailing influences from the home and neighborhood. Education should form part of an overall program aimed at increasing the participation of the poor in the institutional life of the national society and at strengthening the solidarity of local community life.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study have shifted somewhat from the original proposal submitted to the Office of Education. Most of the points touched on in the original proposal are covered in the report, but the following objectives were given special emphasis:

1. To describe the social isolation of the urban poor and its impact on upward mobility.
2. To compare the impact of class and racial barriers on assimilation into the larger society by studying the relationships of lower-class Puerto Ricans and Negroes with the larger society.
3. To analyze the factors contributing to community solidarity in the shanty town and leading to the breakdown of family and community solidarity in the public housing project and Negro ghetto.
4. To describe the impact of various kinds of community life on roles and relationships within the low-income family.
5. To suggest ways in which policymakers concerned with the poor may strengthen local community life and increase the participation of the poor in the institutional life of the larger society.

PROCEDURE

No chapter on methodology has been included in this report, but a brief description is given in the appendix. Most of the data in this study had already been collected prior to the initiation of this grant, so that the investigator's time was spent largely on analysis and write-up.

The data on the Puerto Rican shanty town and public housing project were collected in 1959-60 in a study sponsored by the Urban Renewal and Housing Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This study was aimed at analyzing the changes in family and community life resulting from the relocation of low-income Puerto Rican families from shanty towns to public housing projects. A representative shanty town and public housing project were chosen in the heart of the San Juan Metropolitan Area and the author spent three months of intensive participant observation in each neighborhood prior to the initiation of the survey phase.

The survey sample was drawn on the basis of a political census conducted in both neighborhoods a few months previously that listed every adult member of the household and certain other demographic data. Since the census showed that project families had been living in the San Juan Metropolitan Area considerably longer than shanty town families, an attempt was made to have the samples drawn from both neighborhoods reflect this difference. Categories were set up according to year of arrival in the metropolitan area and families were selected at random from the census according to these categories.

The interview schedule used in the survey was constructed by the author on the basis of the participant observation and administered by a staff of trained Puerto Rican interviewers. In order to achieve depth as well as coverage, it was decided to limit the number of families interviewed in each neighborhood to 100, but to interview husband and wife and where possible, an adolescent child. The result totaled 454 interviews with only one refusal.

My material on the Negro ghetto is drawn largely from field notes collected by a team of participant observers who lived in each of the four public housing projects in Syracuse, for periods ranging from three months to one year. Only the field notes from one project have been used here, and the observer, a young Negro woman, lived with her family in the project for over one year. I visited with her and came to know some of these families personally. I also conducted life history interviews in these families and collected geneologies.

The Syracuse study also included survey data collected by two colleagues in the study, and the tables given in the report represent the results of this survey. A total of 1,274 interviews were conducted on a cross-section of public housing tenants and residents in the surrounding neighborhood. Unfortunately, race was not one of the primary variables under consideration and therefore it has sometimes been necessary to present the data on the project without racial breakdowns. However, these interview data should be considered as supplementary to the primary hypothesis arrived at through participant observation.

The analysis focused on forms of family and community life in the three different neighborhoods studied. I have tried as far as possible to include the same areas for each of the neighborhoods to facilitate comparison and to give a well-rounded picture of life among the urban poor.

The results emphasize not only the cultural differences between the Puerto Rican and Negro low-income groups, but the contrasts stemming from their differential relationship with the larger society.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

I will attempt to present the principal conclusions from this research in terms of the objectives stated on page 2 of this summary.

1. Often the blame for the lack of mobility in low-income groups is laid on cultural or psychological factors such as lack of motivation, different value orientations, or the bad influence of parents, the neighborhood or the peer group. We have attempted to describe a much-neglected aspect of the life of the urban poor: namely, their structural isolation from the larger society.

Our data do not substantiate the claim that the poor constitute a subculture with a value system of its own. The aspirations of many of the poor are very similar to those of the middle class: a college education, a professional job, a nice home in a middle-class neighborhood, etc. They are held back by their lack of opportunity to achieve these objectives and by a lack of support and stimulation in their home and neighborhood environment.

The urban poor live in a closed world in which they are only marginally involved in the mainstream of the national society. Their primary contacts are largely with people of their own class level and race. Secondary associations play a minimal role in the life of the poor and even here, contact between the classes usually leaves the low-income person in a subordinate position. Thus, he may deal with middle-class people on the job, in stores, or at school. But in these situations, authority is always vested in the middle-class professional or entrepreneur, reinforcing the sense of powerlessness which the poor feel in relation to the rest of society.

2. While both lower-class Negroes and Puerto Ricans are socially isolated from the larger society, Puerto Ricans cannot be distinguished on racial grounds from people of higher socio-economic status. Status in Puerto Rico

is based largely on class position and the poor can shed their low status by acquiring more education, a better job and a nice home. There has been increasing movement out of the lower class in the past two decades and considerable emphasis by the government on the needs of the rural and urban poor. As a result, Puerto Ricans have never questioned their identity as integral members of Puerto Rican society, though there is a growing feeling of class consciousness and outside exploitation on the part of project residents.

Racial exclusion has retarded indefinitely the process of assimilation among the Negro poor. It has limited the possibilities for upward mobility and led to greater disorganization in family and community life than is evident in the case of the Puerto Rican poor. Above all, rejection by the larger society has created identity problems for the American Negro, who often internalizes this rejection and projects a negative self-image onto all members of his group. The "black power" movement now under way among certain militant Negro groups can be understood in this light. The separatism stressed by black power advocates is an attempt by Negroes to create a cultural identity of their own, independent of the dominant white society.

3. Despite their isolation from other class groups in the metropolis, shanty town families exhibit a high degree of community solidarity and pride. The neighborhood has been built up through the joint effort of migrant families, constantly replenished by newcomers from the rural area. Many families have lived in the shanty town since it was founded 25 years ago, constituting a core of "old-timers", to whom new migrants can attach themselves and through whom they are incorporated into the network of neighborhood relationships. Many of the formal and informal leaders of the shanty town are drawn from this core of old timers, who often represent the more prosperous families since there is considerable range in income and standards of living in the shanty town.

Socio-economic differences are somewhat leveled by patterns of cooperation and mutual aid which pressures more affluent families into aiding their less fortunate neighbors. Unity in the shanty town is also reinforced through bonds of kinship, friendship and compadrzgo, which seldom cross class lines, and through informal groups meeting in stores and bars scattered throughout the neighborhood.

Several of the factors contributing to the cohesion of the shanty town and lacking in public housing and in the Negro ghetto. Both the project and the ghetto look to the outside world to take initiative in local affairs, and are heavily dependent upon project management, the police, other public authorities to maintain social control in the neighborhood. There are no local leaders with community-wide support and no history of joint effort to improve the neighborhood. Relationships between neighbors are marked by strife and suspicion, despite the continuance of patterns of mutual aid and other forms of socializing.

However, hostility toward the outside world is much greater in the Negro ghetto than among the Puerto Rican poor because of racial discrimination. Because this hostility cannot be openly expressed, it is often turned inward into acts of violence and destruction in the ghetto itself. Thus, racial exclusion has not helped to solidify the Negro community but has only contributed to its fragmentation.

4. The forms of family life in the Puerto Rican shanty town and public housing project and in the Negro ghetto reflect the roles played by family members in the local community and larger society. The man in the shanty town family occupies a peripheral but established position in family relationships. As economic provider, disciplinarian, and spokesman to the outside world, he is the undisputed head of the shanty town household. His work on barrio committees and in the maintenance of social control adds to his authority. The woman, on the

other hand, has more responsibility for the internal operation of the household. Her influence over the children is greater and even as they grow older, the children are likely to remain more attached to their mother than to their father.

The man's role in the project community and family is sharply reduced. He no longer owns his own home and must submit to control and supervision by project management. His wife has often taken over his role as spokesman for the family in dealing with project management and the peer group has usurped his authority over his children. As a result, family relationship in the project are often less stable than in the shanty town. Because of differential selection and turnover rates, a high number of fatherless families are found in public housing.

In the Negro low-income family, the mother's role has also been attenuated. Mothers seem less concerned with their children's welfare or with family stability than among the Puerto Rican poor. Negro women go out alone, leaving their children unattended, and sometimes even engage in extramarital relationships with the children's knowledge. Many have married young, have had several children in rapid successions, and generally seem burdened by family responsibilities. They lack the support of the neighborhood and kin network in the shanty town. They also appear to define their role differently, placing less emphasis on their responsibilities as wives and mothers and seeking greater gratification in the outside world. The lack of family support contributes to the limited socio-economic opportunities open to Negro low-income children.

5. Only the last chapter deals directly with the practical implications of this research, but it is implicit throughout this report. Policymakers must pursue a dual objective: they must strive to open up institutions which will assist the poor in assimilating to the larger society. But they must also help

to improve the character of local neighborhood life by strengthening the forces contributing to community solidarity. By giving the poor a greater sense of participation in local neighborhood affairs, they will also promote their assimilation into the larger society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There are 42 references listed in the final report.

PUBLICATIONS

Two papers have been prepared on the basis of this research. The first, entitled THE ASSIMILATION OF THE URBAN POOR: A Comparison of Puerto Rican and American Negro Low-Income Families, was presented at the 1966 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, D. C. The second, entitled IN DEFENSE OF THE MATRIFOCAL FAMILY: A Study of Family Life in a Puerto Rican Shanty Town, has been submitted for possible inclusion in a volume on squatters edited by Charles Abrams.

Several previous publications by the writer bear on the material presented here, including:

"The Female-Based Household in Public Housing: A Case Study in Puerto Rico." Human Organization, Vol. 24, No. 2, Summer 1965, pp. 135-139.

"From Shanty Town to Public Housing: A Comparison of Family Structure in Two Urban Neighborhoods in Puerto Rico." Caribbean Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1964, pp. 3-12.

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